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GROUP RELATIONS IN NEWARK - 1957

Problems, Prospects, and A Program for Research

by

Chester Rapkin

and

Eunice and George Grier

A Report to

The City of Newark, New Jersey, Leo P. Carlin, Mayor

Mayor's Commission on Group Relations, Daniel S. Anthony, Director

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New York City

July, 1957

Table of Contents

I	Introduction	1
II	Population	7
	Daytime Population	7
	Rate of Growth	8
	Ethnic Composition	9
	Spacial Distribution	12
III	The Economic Base	14
	Industrial Composition	14
	Wholesale and Retail Trade	15
	Family Incomes	16
	Taxable Property	17
	Tax Rate	17
	Potential for the Future	18
IV	Employment Opportunities	20
	Employment of Negroes in 1950	22
	Employment in 1957	23
V	Housing	30
	Housing Quality and Trends	31
	Market for Owner Occupied Homes	34
	Private Rental Market	43
	Integration in Public Housing	44
VI	The School System	52
	Problems of the Central Ward	52
	Pupil Relationships	55
	Opportunities for Negro Teachers	56
	Pupil-Teacher Relationships	57

VII	Public Accommodations	59
VIII	Local Attitudes and Atmosphere	62
IX	A Program for Research	71
	Current Inventory of Population and Households	72
	Employment Practices	73
	Study of Changing Neighborhoods	75
	Housing Needs of Minority Groups	76
	Integration in the Schools	77
	Adequacy of Community Resources to Meet Social Needs	78
	Law Enforcement	79
	Puerto Rican Population	81
	Appendix A - Statistical Tables	83
	B - A Method of Estimating the Size of Current Negro Population	96
	C - Bibliography	99

Chapter I

Introduction

Newark's problems in group relations are basically America's problems. Because of the limitations placed upon their activities in everyday life, substantial numbers of our people cannot contribute all that their talents make possible to the economic and social pursuits of the nation. In the past generation, a quiet, bloodless revolution has altered the status of these minority groups. One by one, limitations have been removed and avenues of opportunity opened. Much remains to be done, however, and the problem is perhaps most complex in the cities. Especially important in recent years has been the problem of weaving minority groups into the fabric of urban society in the cities of the north. In these cities, Negroes and other minorities have increased in number, while the white population has changed relatively little. Continued migration, largely from southern rural areas, is the principal explanation of this change in racial composition. This trend, coupled with differential rates of natural increase, will probably extend the population direction of the recent past into the immediate future. If the urban economy is to remain stable and if social relationships within it are to be serene, this expanding group in our population must participate fully and equally, as wage earners, consumers, tax payers, and householders.

Little doubt exists that a major transition is now in process.

While many individuals and groups still cling to the attitudes of the past, the general climate of opinion among whites and non-whites alike has recognizably changed. Moreover, new laws and recent court decisions have protected and extended the civil rights of minorities.

Problems and tensions inevitably accompany such changes. The process of change itself dislocates or disrupts accustomed modes of behavior and habitual group postures. For two reasons, the rapidity of the change makes these problems more complex. First, it is difficult for large numbers of people to adjust their established behavior patterns rapidly. Second, when events in general move swiftly and population shifts in particular are important, there is a lack of accurate, unbiased information needed to understand the nature of the problems, their salient characteristics, and the order of their significance.

These considerations led Newark to establish the Mayor's Committee on Group Relations. In the language of the ordinance, this agency is designed to encourage "mutual understanding and respect by all groups," at the same time as it attacks prejudice and helps to guarantee "equal rights for all." The Commission felt acutely a need for facts related to its daily responsibilities and activities. Recognizing this need, the City Council appropriated a substantial sum for research in group relations. In order to disburse these funds most prudently, Mr. Daniel S. Anthony, Executive Director, commissioned a preliminary study designed to outline the nature and scope of the problems and to develop a research program on which the Commission could base a program of education and action.

This preliminary study is devoted primarily to finding out how much information the Commission needs about such population characteristics as housing, income, occupation, and employment. In addition, the report investigates several specific problems, among them employment, housing, education, and public accommodations. The kind and amount of research needed to illuminate and understand problems in each of these categories has been discussed. The conclusions appear in a special section of this report.

Concentration on the areas where factual data are most needed and discussion of the data required have established the basis for an integrated research program. A clearly designed program allows the Commission to establish a set of priorities based upon its own needs. It makes possible also the meshing of successive research efforts in a manner which promises the coherent picture of the city which no amount of unrelated research can draw.

Several methods were used in conducting this study. Data were compiled from existing published and unpublished sources. The report relied considerably on non-structured interviews with municipal officials, prominent citizens, others in policy positions, and informed persons. We would like to acknowledge with thanks the generous cooperation of these individuals. Many of the respondents were kind enough to allow access to their personal files which contained valuable unpublished information and reports. This study's raw materials were drawn from all of these sources. The evidence was sifted and appraised, and the results presented in later sections of this report. One of these results

was an informal inventory of community resources, attitudes, and problems. For whatever value it may possess, this inventory was a by-product rather than a part of the original intention of the study.

Throughout the report, effort is made to distinguish between the problems of intergroup relations and the problems internal to minority groups. Two examples illustrate the distinction. If racial prejudice prevents a purchaser with sufficient money from buying a house of his own choice, the question is one of intergroup relations. If, on the other hand, a member of a minority group is compelled to live in unsafe and unsanitary quarters because his income is low, the problem is internal. It is of course evident that low income may result in part from discrimination in employment or inadequate training in an inferior segregated school. Given the income status of the individual, however, poverty as much as race may explain inferior housing.

This distinction is important for another reason. Intergroup problems are frequently associated with attitudes that range from cold tolerance through resentment and hostility to overt action. But the problems within a group frequently generate concern and sympathy. Unfortunately, when the internal problems of a group involve a large proportion of its members, the danger exists that the community will think of the entire group in the same way as it thinks of the members with problems. Specifically, the growing Negro middle class may fail to receive general recognition commensurate with its achievements because so many Negroes remain poor and unskilled. At various points, then, we have tried to identify the problems faced by various groups

according to their quality and importance.

This report is devoted mainly to analysis of relations between the white and nonwhite groups in Newark. There are two reasons for this restriction in scope. First, although there are definite indications of residual tensions between the many religious and national-origin groups in Newark, there is little evidence that these tensions today greatly inhibit access of any of these groups to equality in such essentials of life as employment or housing. Negroes in Newark, on the other hand, still are clearly underprivileged in these areas.

Second, tensions among religious and nationality groups are very subtle and complex, both in their causes and their manifestations. To analyze them with precision, to get at underlying causes - in other words, to produce information useful to the planning of an intergroup relations program - would take a report many times the size of this one. In sheer bulk, it would dwarf the number of pages necessary to say useful things about the much more severe problems of relations between whites and Negroes. There would be real danger that the resulting total report would be too long for practical utility.

This is not to say that we do not recognize the real importance of the problems which still face such groups as Jews, Italians and Poles. One cannot ignore the importance to the promising individual of failure to gain admission to a professional school, or promotion to a rank concordant with his abilities and ambitions, because his religion or parents' birthplace are not those of the majority. One cannot ignore the ego-damaging effects of an ethnic insult. We are aware that these

things still happen in Newark, as in most other places in the U. S. But they do not happen today nearly as often as a generation ago. Most religious and national-origin groups in Newark have begun to make real headway up the status ladder. A large proportion of the Negro population, on the other hand, is still on the lower rungs.

The body of the report begins with a discussion of the trends in the number composition and spacial distribution of Newark's population (Chapter II), and a brief account of the economic base of the community (Chapter III). From there it proceeds to a consideration of the four major areas of investigation - employment (Chapter V), housing (Chapter VI), schools (Chapter VII), and public accommodations (Chapter VII). The following chapter presents our impressions of the attitudes of the population and the general atmosphere that prevails in the community on group relations (Chapter VIII). A presentation of a suggested research program constitutes the last major section of the report (Chapter IX).

Chapter II

Population

Newark is New Jersey's largest city, with a 1950 population of 438,000. For many census and planning purposes, however, it is regarded as only a tiny part of the nation's largest and most complex metropolitan area - the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Metropolitan Area. This area in 1950 had a population of almost 13 million; Newark had only three percent of the total. Even the New Jersey portion of this metropolitan area was much larger than Newark; it had a population of 3,356,000, of which Newark made up only 13 percent. Being part of such a giant metropolitan complex, yet at the same time an independent political entity, has created many special problems for Newark. These problems will be touched on throughout various sections of this report.

Daytime Population

Newark appears almost unique among major American cities in one respect - the number of people who do not reside within the city but make their living there. In 1956, Newark's daytime population was estimated to be more than double its nighttime population.¹ Of fourteen cities for which comparable data are available not one even approached this ratio. This fact does not necessarily reflect adversely on Newark's

¹ Wilfred Owen, The Metropolitan Transportation Problem. The Brookings Institution, 1956, Table 4, page 271.

desirability as a place to live. It means simply that the boundaries of the city encompass an unusually small part of the area it actually serves.

Yet this fact nonetheless creates difficulties for Newark, especially in the field of municipal administration and finance. The estimated 446,000 persons who commuted into Newark every working day in 1950² used their share of certain city facilities and services - especially streets, sewers and water, and a certain amount of police and fire protection. Yet, because Newark's taxes are collected almost exclusively on the real and personal property within its borders, these people paid little or nothing for services used. Likewise the high proportion of commuters meant that an unusually large portion of the total payroll generated by Newark industry serves to enrich the economies of other localities. It is important to note that, on the average, the commuters are those who earn the higher pay rates.

Rate of Growth

Newark's population has changed very little since the end of World War I. Its resident population wavered between 415,000 and 442,000 in the 30 years from 1920 to 1950, with the high point reached in 1930. From 1940 to 1950, Newark's population increased by a scant two percent, while the population of the United States increased by seven times that proportion. In comparison with many other eastern cities, however, Newark's population trend is not unusual.

² The number may be larger now, and almost certainly is not much smaller.

Since 1920 the principal growth in metropolitan areas throughout the United States has been in the suburbs rather than in the central cities. Cities such as Newark and Camden, which lie in the orbit of a larger metropolitan area, have experienced the impact of this major redistribution of the nation's population most sharply. The secondary cities are hard pressed to compete with the advantages of the larger city or the newness and open space of the suburbs.

Although no firm count or reliable estimate of Newark's total population is available for periods later than the 1950 Census (when it was 438,776) available data and the opinions of informants do not suggest any sizeable increase since that time. The 1954 estimate of the Bureau of Municipal Research is 443,850, which is very slightly higher than the 1930 population.

Ethnic Composition

Newark's white population has been declining for more than two decades. Although the same phenomenon has also been occurring recently in some other cities, in Newark the trend appears to have been established earlier than most. The white population of Newark began declining in absolute numbers in the decade 1930-1940; by 1950 there were almost 10 percent fewer whites in the city than in 1930. In proportion of the total population, whites have been declining since 1910.

Unlike its total population, Newark's non-white population has been growing rapidly and consistently since 1920. And in Newark, "non-white" almost always means Negro. In 1950, Negroes made up better than 99 percent of the total non-white population of the city. Less

than 700 persons were of other non-white groups such as Orientals and American Indians.

In 1920, Newark's Negro population was about 17,000, or about 4.1 percent of the total population. By 1950 the Negro population was numerically about four and one-half times as great as in 1920 (75,000). Proportionately, Negroes in 1950 made up 17.1 percent of the total Newark population.

The Negro population of Newark in 1957 was estimated by local informants as between 85,000 and 150,000. The official 1956 estimate of the Newark Department of Health and Welfare, based exclusively on excess of births over deaths since 1950, is 85,000. However, the Department of Health and Welfare believes that this estimate may be low, and statistics on births by race compiled by the Department indicate the likelihood of a much higher Negro population. Using 1956 birth data as the base for an estimate, Newark Negroes today may well number between 110,000 and 130,000 - with the most probable total lying in the midpoint of that range³. These estimates represent an increase of between 45 and 70 percent over the 1950 population - or a numerical increase of roughly 35,000 to 55,000 persons. Only about 9,000 of this estimated growth is natural increase; the remainder is immigration. Most informants believe that the immigration has been predominantly from the South.

If these estimates are correct, and if it is assumed that relatively

³ The method of estimation and the base data from which the estimates were derived are given in Appendix B.

little growth has occurred in the total population of Newark⁴, Negroes now make up between 25 and 29 percent of the city total. Even if the 1950 estimates should turn out to be somewhat high, it is quite clear that Negroes are becoming stronger in numbers. Whether their economic and political strength is increasing in proportion will be discussed later in this report.

The rapidly increasing Negro population creates certain problems for Newark. For example, so long as Negroes have lower average incomes than whites, an increase in their proportion will diminish the city's tax revenue while at the same time increasing the need for those city services necessary to sustain a low-income population. And, although the market for goods produced or merchandised in Newark may not stop at city limits, a decrease in the average income of the city's population will inevitably reduce the prosperity of its industry and commerce.

The non-white population of Newark is predominantly a young population. Over two-thirds of non-whites are under 40, compared with about 55 percent of whites. Only five percent of non-whites are age 60 or over, compared to about 12 percent of whites. These differences probably stem from the shorter average lifespan of Negroes in America today, plus a preponderance of young adults among the recent non-white immigrants. This pattern means that a higher percent of the total Negro population will be found in the labor force.

⁴ This is a reasonable assumption on the basis of the experience of other cities for which recent Census counts are available - including Philadelphia, New York, and Syracuse.

According to the 1950 Census, over 30 percent of Newark's non-white women had been married but were presently without a spouse in the same household (separated, widowed or divorced). This is over 50 percent higher than the comparable figure of 20 percent for the white female population of Newark. The proportion of separations other than by death or divorce was about four times higher for Negroes than for whites. The high proportion of broken homes creates a greater need for certain types of social services among Negroes.

Among both Negroes and whites in Newark there was in 1950 a disproportion between the number of males and females in the principal childbearing years of 20 to 39. The imbalance was considerably greater in the Negro group, however, for there were almost 3,000 more Negro women than men in this age group.

Spacial Distribution

Newark's non-white population is dispersed throughout its area to a considerably greater degree than in many cities of comparable size. In 1950, there was not a single one of the city's 98 census tracts which had no non-whites. Nearly three-fifths of all census tracts had at least 100 non-whites. Over one-fourth had one thousand or more.

Although there was considerable dispersion, there were also pockets of concentration. In 28 of the 98 tracts, the proportion of non-whites was higher than in the city as a whole (17 percent). In 11 tracts, over half of the residents were non-whites. In these 11 tracts (11 percent of the total) lived over half (51 percent) of all Newark's non-whites. The

28 tracts which had a higher percentage of non-whites than the city as a whole contained together about 80 percent of Newark's non-white population.

On the other hand, one-quarter of the census tracts had less than 25 non-whites, and 11 had less than 10. In some of these tracts with very small non-white proportions, the only non-whites present were probably there as resident servants or caretakers rather than as owners or renters.

Chapter III

The Economic Base

Newark today is a city trying valiantly to fight its way back from a slump which has lasted for an entire generation. In many of the most important indices of a city's economic health - population, manufacturing employment, volume of new construction, and total assessed value of taxable property, to name a few - Newark reached its peak in the decade 1920 to 1930. Since 1940 some of these indices again began to recover, but even today most do not equal the level of a generation ago.

The state of Newark's economy is related to the situation of Newark's Negro population in two ways: First, it determines the limits of the opportunities which that population has in such areas as employment and housing. Second, Newark's Negroes not only benefit from the city's economy but also, by their own productive effort, contribute to that economy. As they have become a larger and larger sector of the population, the significance of their contribution has become steadily greater.

Manufacturing constitutes the principal source of employment in Newark. About 44 percent of the 198,500 jobs in September of 1955 were in manufacturing industries, nearly twice as many as the next most important major industry division. Newark, however, is not as highly industrialized as some other cities of comparable size. It is considerably less heavily weighted in manufacturing employment than is the entire Newark labor market area, which includes all of Essex County, most of Hudson and Union Counties and part of Bergen County. For the Newark labor market area as a whole, manufacturing accounts for 55 percent of all jobs.

Newark actually does not have as many manufacturing jobs today as it did in 1919. The United States Census of Manufactures for 1919 indicated 36,700 manufacturing production workers in the city. This number

had dropped to 56,600 in 1939. There was an upturn during the period of World War II, and the most recent Census of Manufactures indicated that the number of production workers had risen to 73,600 in 1947. Statistics prepared by the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry on all manufacturing workers in covered employment indicate a slight rise during the Korean War period over the 1947 level, then a drop-off to considerably below that level in 1955. It is estimated that manufacturing employment in Newark today is more than 20 percent below the 1919 level.

Wholesale and Retail Trade

While Newark has been losing ground as a manufacturing center, it has been gaining as a trade center. In 1929 the number of employees in wholesale trade in Newark was slightly over 9,000. By 1948 this number had risen to nearly 20,000. The total number of persons employed in both wholesale and retail trade increased from 38,400 in 1929 to 52,500 in 1948. The increase in retail employment was by far the smaller part of this total; retail employees numbered 29,200 in 1929 and 32,900 in 1948.

There has not been a United States Census of Business since 1948, but New Jersey State Department of Labor and Industry figures for covered employment in wholesale and retail trade show a continuation of this trend up to 1955. In 1950, there were 42,400 jobs under this classification; in 1955, there were 45,300.

This continuing shift in Newark's business structure, with a contraction in manufacturing and an expansion in trade, is of particular importance to Newark's Negro population. In recent years, in Newark

as in most other areas, Negroes have found their best employment opportunities in manufacturing industries. "White collar" jobs, and other jobs most common in trade, have been less often available. Even if employment opportunities for Negroes should keep pace with the general business shift, the Negro population itself must keep abreast of the change in order to maintain its present living standards, let alone improve them.

Family Incomes

Average incomes reported by the 1950 Census were lower in Newark than in most other northeastern New Jersey localities. With a 1949 median income of \$2,961 for families and unrelated individuals, Newark was almost \$500 below the entire New Jersey portion of the metropolitan area; as much as \$1,500 to \$2,000 below such localities as Glen Ridge and West and South Orange; and almost \$200 below Jersey City.

In part, the lower median income was a function of the higher proportion of Negroes in Newark than in some of the other areas; Negro incomes averaged over \$750 lower for individuals in the 1950 Census than white incomes. This factor, however, accounts for only part of the difference. The median income for white individuals in Newark was more than \$200 below that for white individuals in the entire New Jersey portion of the metropolitan area.

The lower income levels mean that Newark consumers spend less money in Newark stores, are less able to accumulate the property upon which Newark's tax collections are based. A large proportion of income

must be used for the basic necessities of life and relatively little remain for the types of disbursements that are needed to maintain both the private and public community services and facilities.

Taxable Property

The assessed value of taxable property in Newark reached its highest point of \$883 million in 1930. In the following two decades the total dropped by almost 20 percent, amounting to \$682 million in 1951. In recent years taxable values have shown a gradual gain with 1955 showing an increase of \$36 million over the 1951 low.

Since there has been almost no new construction in Newark since 1950, and most of the vacant land outside of the marshy meadowlands has now been built upon, it is unrealistic to expect a much greater increase in the value of taxable property in the near future unless an urban renewal program of substantial scale is undertaken.

Tax Rate

While the value of taxable property in Newark has declined, the costs and scope of the city government have continued to rise. As a consequence, the tax rate in 1957 reached an all-time high of \$8.93 per \$100 of assessed value. This compares with a rate of \$5.98 per \$100 in 1947, \$4.85 per \$100 in 1940, \$3.94 per \$100 in 1930.

The property tax, which accounts for over 80 percent of Newark's total revenues, is levied at the same rate on real and personal property, and on the estimated inventories of business firms. In consequence, Newark's per capita property tax is second in size among 19 United

States cities. Many of these cities derive greater revenues from other forms of taxation than does Newark, but Newark ranks fourth of the 19 in total per capita taxation, exceeded only by Boston, New York, and Baltimore. A high tax rate is particularly burdensome in a city with low average personal income. In fact, in Newark it may be responsible in part for the loss in white population.

Potential for the Future

The Meadowlands: Although Newark has not been expanding, it actually has more room for future industrial expansion than many cities. The meadowlands, the low-lying section to the southeast of the city adjoining Newark Bay, contains over 1,900 acres of vacant land, about 12 percent of the city's total land area. The main obstacle to development of the meadowlands in the past has been their marshy character, which would require costly filling operations. As land becomes increasingly scarce in the metropolitan area of which Newark is a part, the economics which govern the feasibility of developing the meadowlands may change. In this case, if other obstacles do not intervene, Newark may again experience an influx of industry.

Newark as a Center of Trade and Finance: The continuing increase in the number of workers employed in Newark's wholesale and retail trade suggests that Newark may be changing from a city that is primarily industrial to a center of trade for the northeastern New Jersey area. To this trend should be added the expansion in finance and administration which may be expected on the basis of the construction of major office facilities by two large insurance companies - Prudential and

Mutual Benefit. Although the increase in number of jobs in the finance, insurance, and real estate classification between 1950 and 1955 was rather small, it is probable that the rate of increase will be more rapid in the future.

Alternative Sources of Municipal Revenue: Newark's high property tax rate is cited by a number of informants as a restrictive factor in the city's economy. At present, Newark is prevented from deriving revenue from other forms of taxation by state law. If this restriction can be removed, Newark might in the future find it possible to levy other forms of imposts which have been found productive by other cities. These include a wage tax, which would be exacted not only from Newark residents, but also from those who earn their livings in the city but reside elsewhere. At present, these people derive benefit from city services but contribute nothing to their costs. A sales tax on transactions within the city is another possible source of municipal revenue, but one that is considered less desirable by fiscal experts.

Chapter IV

Employment Opportunities

Employment today, in the opinion of most informants, is well down the list of critical problem areas for Newark Negroes. There is reason to believe that certain employers and industries continue to discriminate in hiring, upgrading, or both; but few now exclude Negroes completely, and fewer and fewer are reported to refuse employment to highly-qualified Negro applicants at the level of their capacity. This improvement is believed to be due to changes in practices during the labor shortage of World War II, to the enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation, and to the efforts of private agencies like the Urban League to widen employment opportunities.

One informed Negro interviewee states that the above average Negro today experiences little difficulty in job placement; but that the Negro of average ability continues to experience discrimination in hiring as compared to the white applicant of equivalent qualifications. Thus, discrimination on the basis of race alone has been replaced by discrimination on a combination of race and ability. This, however, has classically been an important upward step in the struggle of minorities for full equality.

In consequence of this advance, there are today many highly desirable openings available to Negroes for which qualified persons cannot be found; while at the same time, there are many Negro applicants who can obtain only the less desirable jobs. The Essex County

Urban League reports that during the two year period 1955-56 it placed nearly 300 job applicants; however, there were nearly 1,700 applicants who could not be placed, while more than 150 job orders could not be filled. The Urban League feels that its biggest problem in the employment field is now that of developing qualified applicants to fill above average positions.

The most recent data of any great precision on the employment distribution of Newark-area Negroes date from the 1950 census. These data indicate considerable differences between the occupations of white and Negro workers, with Negroes being employed principally in lower skilled and lower paid categories. It would take considerably more information than was available to this study to determine how much of the differences were due to current discrimination in hiring and upgrading, and how much were due to past discrimination in schooling or employment (either in Newark or in a previous place of residence such as the South). Past discrimination may genuinely affect the Negro worker's present qualifications for employment and promotion. Though the occupational gap between whites and Negroes may have narrowed appreciably since 1950, no evidence indicates that it has closed completely.

An informant with long experience in the employment field states: "Ninety percent of Negro applicants' difficulties today are due to lack of qualifications, and most of the rest are due to lack of openings in industries or jobs with very little turnover." The same informant states that Negroes native to Newark, trained in Newark schools, have little difficulty finding permanent jobs. Recent immigrants, however,

seldom possess the qualifications for any but the lowest skilled jobs, and frequently can find only temporary employment.

Employment of Negroes in 1950

Employment data for Negro workers from the 1950 census are not separately available for the city of Newark alone. There are employment distributions, however, for the New Jersey portion of the New York - Northeastern New Jersey Standard Metropolitan Area. It has been previously noted that the individual localities in the metropolitan area are closely related in an economic sense, and that many workers may live in one locality and work in another. Thus, the available census data probably reflect with fair accuracy the total employment situation for Negroes living in Newark. They may or may not provide an accurate representation of the employment of Negroes in industries located within Newark city limits.

Employment by Industry: In 1950 the distribution of male Negro workers by industry in the New Jersey portion of the metropolitan area was very similar to that for white workers. There was a somewhat higher proportion of Negro than of white male workers in the construction industry, and a slightly lower proportion in the manufacturing industry and in wholesale and retail trade. Only about one third as many Negro as white males were employed in the finance, insurance, and real estate classification; and over three times the proportion of Negroes were employed in personal services. These were the main differences, in most of the other classifications the two groups were approximately equal.

The industrial distribution of female Negro workers, however, was not nearly as much like that of their white counterparts. . . . percent of female Negroes were employed in personal services, compared to only about six percent of female white workers. This high concentration in a single category necessarily affected the distribution of female Negro workers throughout all other industrial classifications. There was not one other classification in which employment of Negro females was as high proportionately as white females. Only about one-quarter of the Negro women were employed in manufacturing compared to about 40 percent of the white women.

Occupational Distribution: In occupation, both male and female Negro workers differed greatly from their white counterparts for 1950. In general, a much higher percentage of Negroes than of whites were employed in the job categories offering lowest status and lowest pay, including private household workers, service workers other than private household, and laborers. In the Negro group, there were far fewer professional and technical workers, managers and proprietors, clerical workers, salesmen, and craftsmen and foremen. About the same overall proportions of white and Negro male workers were employed in manufacturing production and craftsman jobs. Among whites, the proportions in the skilled and semi-skilled classifications were approximately equal, while there were about three times as many Negro workers in the semi-skilled as in the skilled classifications.

Employment in 1957

Manufacturing the Crafts: Informants state that there are now

few industries in Newark which will not hire Negroes. In the manufacturing industries, with few exceptions, Negroes are hired in entry jobs on the production lines. There are also many openings for Negro professional and technical workers in manufacturing plants; sometimes there are more openings than qualified applicants. A few respondents believe that in many plants there is a "token" or "quota" policy in force on the hiring of Negroes, even though few practice total exclusion. Upgrading to supervisory positions in production departments is still regarded by most informants as a severe problem area.

Several persons point out, also, that there are very few Negro apprentices in Newark today. To the degree that apprenticeship offers the only way of acquiring high skill in certain lines of work, a paucity of Negro trainees must inevitably mean exclusion of Negroes from such jobs, not only now, but for some time in the future.

1950 census data, however, indicate that less than three out of every 1,000 white workers in the New Jersey portion of the metropolitan area were apprentices. Among Negro workers the ratio was considerably lower, less than one out of 1,000. But the small number of whites in such positions suggests that apprenticeship today is a less important route to highly skilled jobs than one might think. A decline in use of the apprentice system over the past decade is noted by a high State Employment Service official who further observes that it may well contribute to an increasingly critical shortage of skilled craftsmen in the next decade.

One informant states, further, "It may well be that there is less discrimination against Negroes per se than one might think from the lack

of Negroes in apprentice positions. Family ties are very strong in apprenticeships. In Newark, it is even said that you cannot be a plumber without being the son of a plumber. Negroes may come out of vocational schools with a desire to enter a specific field, but without the endurance to break down all the barriers to get into it."

The painters' union is reported to have just taken on its first Negro apprentice. Some respondents believe that this action was taken at the instigation of the Newark Housing Authority, which insisted that discrimination be eliminated in all of its operations. Although many Negroes are employed in the construction industry, informants believe that they are concentrated in laboring jobs. "Here they are able to acquire skills, they do so on their own and not through the operation of the apprenticeship system. "Negroes can acquire union membership as individual contractors, but not as journeymen," one interviewee says.

A number of informants regard the brewery industry as one of the few areas of manufacturing employment almost totally closed to Negroes today. Very few, if any, are said to have ever been hired for jobs in the brewing operation itself. Negroes have, on the other hand, been employed in considerable number at the task of loading cases onto trucks. Some breweries are reported to have employed Negro salesmen, and Negro drivers have been hired for brewery trucks through a union hiring hall.

One respondent with a broad knowledge of the Newark employment picture states, however, that job turnover is very low in the production end of the brewery industry. Most breweries have a large call-back list

of workers who were hired during former peak periods, then laid off, but who still wish to be rehired when openings occur. High over-all wage levels and good working conditions contribute to this desire, even among workers who have found steady employment elsewhere. One brewery, it is reported, anticipates that at its present turnover rate labor requirements for the next ten years can be filled from the present call-back list.

Public Utilities: Negroes are accepted in the telephone company as clerical workers and telephone operators, and Negro respondents are generally in agreement that they are accepted without discrimination. The telephone company, however, is reported by one informant to have few if any Negro representatives in its Customer Relations Department. He states further that this is general policy in most firms in the Newark area. "Even firms which may hire Negroes without evident discrimination will seldom place them in the front office,"

The Public Service Company now hires Negroes as bus drivers and in other skilled positions. This is regarded by Negro leaders interviewed as a real advance, because Public Service has a large total employment and until recently Negroes were rarely able to obtain other than the lower paid jobs in the company.

Employment in the railroads, which have many facilities in Newark, has until recently been closed to Negroes except in jobs offering no promotion opportunities, such as trackwalkers and Pullman porters. Recent developments and enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation, however, have begun to crack this barrier. Employment with the airlines until recently has been limited to maintenance and cleaning jobs;

clerical jobs are beginning to become available to Negroes, but jobs as pilot and stewardess are still closed.

"White Collar" Jobs: Administrative and clerical jobs are now opening up for Negroes in increasing degree, yet several informants question the extent to which a Negro can yet obtain advancement through the administrative ladder in most concerns. Some informants believe that token or quota employment is practiced in a number of firms, and others doubt that Negroes are employed readily for front office positions where they will meet the public.

There are many openings for qualified Negro clerical workers in the Newark area. The number of jobs is so large relative to the available supply of workers that one employer states, "my office has been trying to find Negro clerical help, but has been told by the Urban League that all qualified Negro clerical workers already have positions."

There are large installations of both the Federal and State Government in Newark, and all accept Negroes on the basis of ability to meet Civil Service requirements. The Internal Revenue Service office in Newark is reported to have a large proportion of Negroes. Informants also report that there is an increasingly large representation of Negroes in the Post Office Department. Says one: "The Post Office has become a graveyard for would-be teachers, physicians, and other professionals who could not get opportunities a few years back."

At the Municipal level, there are now several Negroes in fairly prominent jobs, and a Negro member of the City Council. One Negro spokesman states that "the situation in City Hall is much healthier for

Negroes today than it was under the old Commission form of government. Although the Mayor himself has had little previous contact with Negroes, he is doing a wonderful job."

Negroes are now accepted as clerical employees in major insurance companies in town. Several interviewees, Negro and white, felt that the policies of insurance companies were now highly positive. However, one leader in the Negro community believes that employment still is not completely open but represents a "lukewarm percentage-wise policy."

Until recently, banks were regarded in the Negro community as one of the principal areas of difficulty. But banks are now beginning to accept qualified Negro applicants. As a result of a placement campaign by the Urban League, a number of banks may soon have Negro employees in clerical positions.

Stores: Informants report that a considerable change has occurred in the employment policies of Newark department stores during the past five years. The Bamberger Store is reported by several sources to have one of the most positive policies. The Hahne Store is believed by Negro respondents to be almost totally closed to Negroes in selling positions on a permanent basis. Says one: "The Hahne Company will hire Negroes as salespersons, put them in the basement until they can find a reason for personnel cutback, and then cut them off the force. Last year Hahne's employed two Negro salesgirls in the Christmas rush, but as soon as the rush was over they fired them again."

The policies of other department stores, specialty shops, and variety stores are reported to vary. According to one person, the smaller stores in general are not as open a field for Negroes as are some of the larger stores.

Chapter V

Housing

Housing is the major problem in Newark. This fact has been repeatedly stressed by most of our respondents and has been confirmed by our own observations. The units are old. Much of the dwelling stock is deteriorated or decrepit. Maintenance, construction costs, and real estate taxes are high. There has been little new construction and there is almost no new building land available for residential purposes. From the point of view of group relations this basic community inadequacy is complicated by the fact that Negroes are found disproportionately in slum dwellings and that acquisition of single family homes by Negroes is burdened with difficulties not encountered in other sectors of the housing market.

Although previous patterns of racial segregation have begun to dissolve there still remains a striking concentration of Negroes in certain areas of the city. There is little doubt that the residential pattern has implications that go beyond questions of housing alone. Concentration of residences affects the racial composition of schools, community centers, and other activities that are organized on a neighborhood basis. But perhaps more important is the fact that people who live separately do not have the opportunity to experience neighborly contacts, share community facilities and participate in the solution of common problems. It is these types of interactions which develop mutual understanding and

provide the true path to an integrated community. Previously existing residential distributions are indeed undergoing change. Many areas which at one time were all white now contain a mixture of populations. But in view of the extent of out-migration (in some cases, flight) that accompanied neighborhood transition there is the strong possibility that some of the existing mixed areas may become predominantly Negro in the relatively near future.

Housing Quality and Trends

A large proportion of Newark's housing is below acceptable standards. In 1950 the Census reported that two-thirds of the dwelling units were built prior to 1920 and only 5 percent since 1940. Four out of five housing accommodations were in multi-family units most of which were constructed prior to the introduction of zoning and housing ordinances. As a result they are close together in small lots and the apartments suffer from lack of space, air, and light. In these neighborhoods population is dense, adding another factor which makes rental areas particularly susceptible to deterioration.

Although the Census statistics indicate a relatively low incidence of overcrowding in 1950 (4.4 percent of the dwelling units reported an occupancy in excess of 1.51 persons per room) there is some evidence that this measure is an underestimate. For example, according to the Census reports, in one area of the city, there were 511 dwelling units occupied by 516 families. A field survey undertaken by the Newark Housing Authority three months later found 760 families in the same dwelling units.

Owner-occupied homes constitute only 23 percent of the city's residential units, contrasted with an average for the state of New Jersey of almost 40 percent. The low proportion in Newark reflects the fact that the city has suffered from a chronic shortage of suitable residential land. A large percentage of the city's area consists of marshy waste-land. Another factor of importance is the interpenetration of industrial uses in areas that should have been reserved entirely for residential purposes. High land costs and high tax rates have also limited the volume of single family homes.

New residential construction in Newark has been startlingly low. Since the end of World War II, only 8,500 units have been erected in the entire city, and of these, 5,500 were in public housing, 2,100 in the Ivy Hill apartment development, and only 900 financed by other private sources. On the average, then, less than 90 private units per year (exclusive of Ivy Hill) have been built since 1946, contrasted with an average of approximately 3,000 per year in the period between 1921 and 1929, inclusive. It is estimated that demolitions have exceeded additions to the housing stock during the post war period.

Newark has an extremely serious slum problem. In 1950, 23 percent of all the dwelling units lacked toilet facilities or running water or were in dilapidated condition. An official city survey undertaken more than ten years ago delineated two principal slum areas - one consisting of 275 blocks, many of which fall in the central district and a second area of 75 blocks in the Iron Bound section east of the Pennsylvania Railroad. In addition, 91 scattered blocks were designated as blighted or deteriorated

and the buildings on 210 other blocks were in need of major repairs. At that time, it was estimated that one-twelfth of the entire Newark area required complete reconstruction and there is little question that further deterioration has occurred since that time.

A study undertaken by the late Professor Rumney presented some measure of the financial burden which these areas place upon the city¹. In one small slum section, expenditures for municipal services were considerably more than three times greater than the income that the city derived from the area. On the other hand, municipal revenues from a well-maintained high rent section were more than twice as great as the cost of services provided to it by the city.

In 1950, 56 percent of the Negro households occupied substandard units compared with 17 percent of Newark's white families. This figure does not mean, however, that the majority of slum dwellers are non-white. On the contrary, the census found that 63 percent of the substandard units were occupied by white and 37 percent by non-white households. But the fact still remains that the burden of inadequate housing is carried to a staggering extent by the Negro community.

When Negro and white slum families are compared it becomes evident that in most respects the more depressed conditions are found among the non-whites. The median income of primary families for whites was \$2,773 compared with \$2,124 for non-whites. Ten percent of the white households reported more than 1.5 persons per room con-

¹ Jay Rumney and Sara Shuman, The Cost of Slums in Newark, Housing Authority of the City of Newark, 1946.

trasted with 20 percent for the Negroes. Whites disbursed 16 percent of their income for rent while shelter costs absorbed more than 20 percent of the Negroes' earnings. The median rent on the other hand showed little variation, with whites paying \$36 and Negroes \$37 a month. Thus, the Negro family in the slum earned less, paid a higher proportion of income for rent, and while the rents for both whites and non-whites were almost the same, Negroes experienced greater overcrowding.

The Market for Owner Occupied Homes

Since the end of the war, there has been a steady increase in the purchase of homes by Negroes. As Negro incomes have increased and become more stable and middle class attitudes strengthened, the desire to improve the standards of housing accommodations has been an inevitable concomitant. Home purchase has been greatly facilitated by the availability of GI loans which made possible the acquisition of homes with little or no down payment and provided extremely favorable mortgage terms. But perhaps the most significant factor of all was the decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1948 which declared racial restrictive covenants unenforceable in the courts. As a result of the combined impact of these factors, the pent up Negro demand began to display itself in sectors of the housing market in which it had never before been felt. Middle class Negroes began to acquire homes in areas which had previously been all white or where only a few old timers or some low-income Negro families had lived. Although no current statistics are available on the dimension of acquisitions by Negroes during this period, it has undoubtedly been of significant magnitude, and constitutes one of

the major steps in the general elevation of the status of the Negro in Newark.

Areas of Purchase: The acquisition of homes by Negroes has occurred in virtually all sections of the city. The distribution of these purchases has been a function of both the characteristics of the existing residents and of the dwelling units located in these areas.

There are a number of areas of the city, of which the Iron Bound district east of the railroad is most notable, in which Negroes and whites have lived together for at least three decades. The population is polyglot consisting of Poles, other Central Europeans, some Irish, and some Jews. One respondent, who was reared in the area, reported that during his childhood there was only one incident that could be even remotely related to racial friction. By and large, the area consists of slum and semi-slums. It is surrounded and interpenetrated by industrial installations varying both in size and in activity. Industrial fumes and other noxious odors very often pollute the atmosphere. Although there are a few moderately pleasant stretches, for the most part this section conveys a dreary and depressed impression.

A large number of high or middle income Negro families have purchased homes in the Weequahic, Clinton Hills, and adjacent areas in the Southern Ward. There now exists a band of some seven or eight blocks between the concentrated Negro section in the Central Ward and the all white area in the southern section of the city. In the mixed zone, there has been a tendency for the Negroes who have acquired property to subdivide single family houses into two to four unit structures and to

rent the additional units to other Negroes. Although this has created much concern on the part of the residents, visually the conversions are not evident. No undue numbers of persons were observed either on the porch or on the street, and to the uninformed passer-by, the houses still appear to be single family residences. The area itself is quite attractive. Streets are tree-lined and quiet; the properties and the lawns are well maintained and in remarkably good condition considering the age of the structures, many of which were obviously built before 1920.

Despite its pleasant aspects, the desirability of both the Clinton Hill and Weequahic areas is somewhat reduced because of the proximity of the airport. The overhead planes create a considerable volume of noise and discomfort. Passing aircraft will frequently cause dwellings to vibrate and dishes to rattle.

In the sections flanking the southern border of the city, middle class residences are more expensive and in a few of the blocks Negro purchases have been made. We were informed that these purchasers were upper level professional individuals who, if anything, were of higher educational and income status than their neighbors.

The entrance of Negroes was accompanied by some panic, and attempts on the part of white residents to leave. In at least one area, Clinton Hill, an organized effort was made to calm the apprehensions of the home owners, to obtain white purchasers for some of the houses, and to stabilize the racial composition of the neighborhood. The details on the Clinton Hill organization are presented in a later section of this chapter.

It is interesting to observe that the areas in which racial transition has been in process are largely occupied by Jewish families. It is reported that in 1952 or 1953 there were several situations in which panic reached crisis proportions and difficulties threatened. However, for reasons that we could not establish, apprehension subsided and the process continued.

The Italian section, which lies to the north of the central district, has evidently maintained a high degree of ethnic cohesion. From our casual observations there appeared to be little if any Negro entrance into the private housing market in this area. Fifteen percent of the units in the Christopher Columbus Houses, a public development built on a cleared site in the area, are now occupied by Negro families.

The "status" residential area of Newark lies in the northern part of the city. In this section reside the upper income old Newark families, the managers of industry and commerce, and the major political figures in town. The area contains by far the most attractive houses in the city. They are large structures, substantially built on tree-lined streets, and obviously display the income and wealth of their residents.

The real estate market in Forest Hills is inactive and it is considered by many real estate and mortgage men to be a problem area. The large houses require one or more servants if they are to be maintained properly and the high tax rate is undoubtedly felt most severely in this area. Because of these two facts the demand for dwellings has diminished in recent years and there has been a tendency to convert residences to other types of uses. There is also some transition in the

characteristics of the occupants but, for the most part, Negro purchases in this area have been extremely limited.

The Vailsburg area is perhaps the only section of the city that has not experienced racial transition. The dwellings in this area are modest well-kept single family units in pleasant surroundings. Geographically, the area itself extends away from the body of the city, and in its social atmosphere resembles a suburb of Newark rather than a section of the city proper. The area is occupied largely by Irish families, and many of the heads of households are civil servants.

Price Discrimination: There appear to be two housing markets - one for whites and another for Negroes. When a Negro acquires a dwelling in a white neighborhood, he is usually required to pay a price higher than that which existed prior to his entry. Thus, in an area in which dwellings had previously sold for \$20,000 on the average, a Negro will pay between \$22,000 and \$24,000. On the other hand, should a dwelling in the same area be sold to a white purchaser, the price would most likely be \$16,000 to \$17,000. One may ask: Why should an owner sell his house for a low price to a white purchaser when he could presumably obtain a much greater amount from a Negro? In this situation it is, of course, evident that in the absence of a neighborhood effort to the contrary, the owner will indeed sell to a Negro family if one can be found. If Negro housing demand is limited, then he must sell to a white if at all. A white purchaser, however, will only accept the dwelling at a substantial discount because of the existence of Negro residents in the area, but at a low price, the unit is a bargain and may compensate for

whatever feelings he may have regarding the existence of Negroes in the area. The present owner may not wish to sell at a low price to a white because he may incur a capital loss or may not be able to realize enough to purchase a new home.

The foregoing description of a dual price system in the housing market was reported by every respondent associated in one or another way with housing or real estate plus many who were not. It was impossible, however, to obtain any hard facts on this situation and until these are available, the existence or extent of price discrimination must remain in the realm of casual observation.

Real Estate Financing: In real estate financing as in so many other areas, difficulties encountered by the community at large are compounded for Negroes. Even before the development of the present tight mortgage market on a national scale, financing of real estate in Newark was extremely difficult. An indication of the contraction of mortgage money is found in the history of one of the principal financial institutions in the city. Between 1951 and 1956 mortgages on Newark property held by this institution declined by 56 percent. This sharp reduction occurred during a period in which both the assets of the institution and its total mortgage holdings increased sharply. A principal mortgage lender in the city attributed the general decline in real estate financing to the absence of new construction, the deterioration of property, and transition in the occupancy of many areas which he claimed made property values unstable or uncertain.

There is little doubt that one of the major problems in Newark is

the financing of home purchases by Negro families. Established financial institutions are reluctant to place mortgages in transitional areas. When they do so, they will rarely recognize the full market price paid by the Negro, but will instead assume a lower value, sometimes as little as 50 percent of acquisition cost. As a consequence, many families are required to pay a substantial amount in cash down payment at the time of purchase. Some Negro families have managed to accumulate a sufficient amount of liquid assets to meet this requirement, but by far the larger proportion are compelled to resort to second and sometimes third mortgages or personal loans. It is reported that the experience with junior liens has been satisfactory. There have been very few if any foreclosures. But with discounts of 20 percent or more on secondary paper, a Negro home owner is very often pressed into renting a section of the house in order to carry the heavy burden of debt service. In addition, the necessity for junior financing very often contributes to inflating the prices of houses purchased by Negroes.

Much of the mortgage lending activity in transitional areas has been undertaken by building and loan associations. The interest rates on these loans have been as high as 6 percent when the going rate on comparable property in other areas was 5 percent. Today, in transitional areas (which are combined with deteriorating sections in the mortgagee's book) interest rates on conventional loans are 6 percent compared with a going rate of 5 1/2 percent. In fact, there have been some instances in which savings and loan associations have received a discount of 3 points on conventional loans, a situation that is virtually unknown in other

sections of the country.

Not only are new mortgages difficult to obtain, but in some transitional areas, institutions that hold loans on existing properties will not increase the amount of a mortgage that has been partially repaid.

The Reaction of White Residents: The purchase of a home by a Negro family in an all-white section is usually accompanied by negative responses that may range from rumblings of discontent to panic and flight. It is not unusual for a large number of houses to be placed on the market immediately, many of which are sold at prices far below their true value because of the anxiety of the resident. A substantial number of families that remain do so not out of lack of concern but because of the absence of alternatives.

The flight response is complicated. Very often a white family fears that it will be the last one left on the block. There is considerable apprehension regarding the possibility of a sudden decline in the value of the house which is very often fortified by the observation of the prices received by the panic sellers. And, of course, there is little doubt that prejudice against Negroes also acts as a powerful incentive.

It must be recognized, however, that the movement of whites from a mixed area is often unrelated to matters of race although it may be a precipitating factor. Thus, the family may have been dissatisfied with a large uneconomical older house or it may feel that schools and other environmental factors are superior in the suburbs, and that friends and relatives are moving to the suburbs. Elements of inertia may keep such a family from taking immediate action. But should an area become mixed,

this fact very frequently provides the precipitant, and the family, responding to its cumulative dissatisfactions, moves to another dwelling. Once a pattern of flight is established, regardless of its motivation, it becomes extremely difficult for a mixed area to attract white purchasers. In fact, the observations of informed persons indicate that white families can be drawn into the area only if substantial housing bargains are available or if concerted and organized recruitment efforts are made. In a few instances that were reported to us, such attempts appeared successful, not only in attracting white purchasers, but in dissipating incipient panic which showed indications of spreading over an area of considerable size.

Perhaps the most outstanding example of a neighborhood effort to dispel panic and encourage harmonious relations is to be found in the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council. This group was organized after the racial mixture of the Clinton Hill area became an established fact. The Council has helped to create mutual understanding among the different groups in the population through the provision of a forum and an instrument for community action. The organization is concerned with such problems as the spread of conversions and rooming houses in the area, the overcrowding of schools, and the virtual absence of recreational facilities. A leader in the Council thinks that it is possible to stabilize some sections of the neighborhood, but not others. In some areas it is felt that the work has been started too late.

An encouraging sign has been the establishment of other neighborhood councils following the pattern of the Clinton Hill group. One of the major problems of these councils, however, is that they are handled

largely by volunteer workers. Newark has few full-time professional workers to provide the necessary assistance and guidance.

Real Estate Brokers: It was difficult to determine the role of real estate brokers in transitional areas. Some respondents maintained that few brokers deliberately attempt to precipitate panic in areas undergoing a change despite the fact that flight results in increasing the volume of sales and therefore the amount of their commissions. There appears to be exceedingly few conspiratorial attempts to establish a Negro family in an all-white area for the express purpose of augmenting their income. Real estate brokers maintain that the race of the purchaser is frequently, if not invariably, stipulated by the seller. Thus, according to their reports, they simply carry out the expressed wishes of the individual who holds title to the property and therefore has the ultimate voice in its transfer.

The Private Rental Market

Whereas it has been possible for middle income Negro families to improve their housing standards through the purchase of a single family home, it has been extremely difficult for families in this position to rent a unit in one of the better apartment houses. While a home owner may sell to a Negro without fear of economic sanction, the owner of an apartment house may be apprehensive that his other tenants will leave should he admit a Negro family. Moreover, in apartment houses, it is much easier to control the selection of the occupants and a policy of exclusion can therefore be more rigidly maintained.

Some Negro families are to be found in middle class apartment houses, a trend that has accelerated during the past year. A few apartment houses are mixed but it would appear that virtually all of these are in the process of becoming occupied largely or entirely by Negroes. Many of the white families remain because the rents are low and are held at these levels by rent control. In view of recent court decisions there is considerable uncertainty regarding the future of rent control. Should it be abrogated, a massive reshuffling of population and a considerable exodus of white families can be expected.

In order to augment their income, some landlords have furnished their apartments, raised the rents, and brought in Negro families. While this has increased gross rent collections, real estate and mortgage opinion holds that mortgageability has been reduced; that is, the landlords will undoubtedly encounter considerable difficulty in obtaining mortgage financing at other than low loan to value ratios. This is a serious problem to an investor in real estate, for his net income leverage is dependent upon maintaining the lowest possible equity. For example, if a landlord through conversion has increased his net income from \$2,000 to \$3,000, but in the process has been compelled to raise his equity from \$10,000 to \$20,000, his dollar earnings have increased by 50 percent but his return on investment has dropped from 20 to 15 percent. Moreover, in the event that he wishes to sell his property, a high mortgage is a considerable advantage.

Integration in Public Housing

Integration in Newark's public housing projects is far from perfect

for it is burdened with many problems that Newark shares with other cities throughout the United States. It also faces a number of dilemmas as a result of attempting to serve simultaneously several desirable, but operationally incompatible, social goals through the single medium of public housing. But with all its imperfections, Newark can be justifiably proud of its public housing program. The number of public units that have been constructed demonstrates the municipality's determination to meet the basic housing needs of low income families. The sincerity and effectiveness of the efforts to promote and maintain integrated housing has few peers throughout the United States.

Following the enactment of a New Jersey law requiring integration in public housing, several community groups including the Essex County Intergroup Council met with the Newark Housing Authority and reached agreement on a course of action that would carry out the legislative mandate. Meetings were held with the staff of the Authority, tenants were interviewed, and the general public prepared for the changes to come.

At that time there were eight projects, four all white, and four mixed. In the mixed projects, whites lived in one group of structures and Negroes in another. In total, the eight developments contained 3,000 units, 20 percent of which were occupied by Negro families. Since that time, 4,400 additional units have been constructed and today 40 percent of the occupants are Negro. Moreover, all of the projects are now integrated and a high official in the Authority has said "There is not a single building, entrance, or floor without a Negro in occupancy." At the beginning of 1957, in four of the twelve existing projects, Negro occupancy

was less than 20 percent and in only one was the ratio as high as 80 percent. Six of the remaining seven tended to concentrate into two groups - three containing between 20 and 30 percent and three with 60 to 70 percent Negro occupants. In the seventh project, Negro and white occupants were equally divided.

The process of integration was evidently conducted with a great deal of tact and intelligence. Although the Authority has no system of quotas, the pattern of occupancy in each project was carefully watched so that the process of integration could proceed as smoothly as possible. Because of the careful and judicious approach, there has not been a serious incident since integration was initiated in 1951.

Problems of Integration: Perhaps the most significant problem confronting the Newark Housing Authority, as well as virtually every other housing authority in the North, is to secure and retain white families in integrated projects. Because of lower income levels and limited housing opportunities, applications from Negroes far outweigh those from white families. Moreover, many white families are reluctant to apply for admission because of their resistance to integrated housing.

In Newark as well as elsewhere it has been found that resident white families tend to leave mixed projects when the ratio of Negroes exceeds a certain percentage of the total occupants. This percentage will vary in accordance with the type of family, the nature of surrounding area, and the quality and rent of the housing accommodations. But in any event, some observers have maintained that white families will rarely

stay once Negroes have become a majority.

A prominent social worker suggested another set of reasons so cogent and penetrating that extensive quotation is warranted. "Generations of social and financial poverty make people, Negro or white, least likely to approve of integration. The tendency of white people on a low income level is to have only one ambition, to raise themselves. Their last wish is to be integrated with another low class of people. The interpretation which is often put on expressions of anti-Negro hostility by these people is erroneous. Actually, the feeling against Negroes is not nearly as strong as it seems. The reason white people move out is not primarily that they are anti-Negro, but that they are anti a poor, deprived environment. . . . I know a number of white families who have left, yet who were on very good terms with their Negro neighbors. One had Negro children in to play in their apartment all the time. But as soon as they saved enough money, they bought a house. Another family, constantly surrounded by Negro neighbors, and mainstays in the tenant association, also bought a house as soon as they could afford one. A third family, extremely active in the community organization, also moved out. One of our best white clients at the moment, a native of France, and a woman of great capabilities, loves her Negro neighbors. But if she gets a chance she will move."

Even if these families desired to stay, statutory limits on the income of public housing residents compel them to leave. This not only reduces the white population, but it also strips the projects of individuals, white or Negro, who have or can assume positions of leadership. Income

ceilings established by federal law are thus conducive to the creation of economic as well as racial ghettos.

A disproportionate number of Negro applicants and the readiness of whites to leave public housing projects creates perhaps the most serious dilemma of all in the field of integrated housing. A prominent Negro leader has stated the problem in the following terms: "Should these units be made available to Negro applicants or withheld until whites can be found? To put it another way: Which should be followed - the letter of the law or a diversion of the law to maintain an integrated community? If I were backed into a corner I would have to uphold the law. Minorities want integration, but they also need housing. I recognize the dilemma of the Housing Authority trying to promote integration, and at the same time to meet housing needs. It is a hell of a spot to be in."

Another related point is raised by a local housing expert: "It is impossible to fill projects on the basis of need because only the lowest income group would be selected and rent delinquency would make for an impossible budget situation."

A less conciliatory attitude was voiced by a Negro leader who made the following statement: "Our main fight with the Housing Authority is that it is not putting tenants into its projects on the basis of need. The Authority has said that it is not practical to put tenants in on the basis of need because they would be mostly Negroes. We tell them to carry out the law, and if this doesn't produce integration, to get the legislature to change the law."

Tenant Problems: In recent years the public housing clientele has changed drastically. During the black depression of the 1930's, when the U. S. Housing Act was passed, the lowest income group was more or less a cross-section of the nation's families. Today, with virtually full employment, this group consists of individuals or families that are laboring under some special physical, psychological, or social disability. A study by Congress reveals that groups at the bottom of the income ladder are comprised of the physically disabled, broken families, aged persons, recent immigrants, and minority groups such as Negroes and Spanish-Americans.¹

The shift in the composition of the low income population has made group relations extremely difficult in public housing. According to one observer, a substantial proportion of the newer tenants "do not have the ability to get along well in an integrated situation. Chiefly, these are Southern and migrants in Newark two or three years. They are unskilled, limited in education, have lived in rooming houses since they've been here. They are marginal workers, with no savings, no notion of how to live because of their backgrounds, and lack knowledge of how to keep house, plan, or buy. There is now an excessively high proportion of that kind of people. They can't really get established. They get into a project, lose their job in a few weeks, they may get another one in a few days but they get behind in their debts.... These tenants generally evict them-

¹ Low Income Families and Economic Stability, Report of the Subcommittee on Low Income Families of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, Congress of the United States, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Document No. 146 (Washington, D. C., 1950).

selves. They do not have to be evicted. Rental delinquencies are extremely high,... The established people in the community don't move into public housing even though they may be living in substandard housing. Not only in Newark but in most other cities tenant selection standards went down six years ago. Now only marginal people apply, and low-income tenants with stable incomes and stable behavior patterns are leaving because they can't stand living with these people. They say, 'I can't stay here and rear my children. I'd much prefer to be in a cold water flat than live under these conditions',... All the problems are not with the Southern Negro families. White tenants present problems which are little different. There is a scarcity of eligible white families. Even a low income white can find fairly adequate housing outside the public housing project. Therefore, the only white families in public housing are a serious problem. This is generally true except in two projects."

The welfare and related problems generated by this unfortunate sector of the population exceed the community services that are provided to meet them. For example, lack of adequate staff and budget make it impossible for the community to provide the necessary child welfare care or supervision of youngsters who have become involved in difficulties. Moreover, there is a dearth of community facilities and services in the slum areas that surround many projects. The Fuld Neighborhood House, which has done an outstanding job in attempting to meet the problems of the community in which it is located, is constantly harassed by lack of funds and inadequate professional aid. Because of this, Fuld House is able to maintain only an evening staff, and since last September

the entire afternoon program in which 400 children participated has been dropped. The gymnasium has been taken over for classroom purposes by the school system.

Site Selection: From the point of view of integration it is preferable to select areas located in all-white neighborhoods or in fringe districts, but the quality of housing in these areas is usually superior to that found in the slums. Thus, to erect public housing on such sites means that the worst substandard units will remain in use. Many of the worst slum sites are located in areas in which a large proportion of the surrounding population is Negro. If these sites are selected for clearance and reconstruction, great difficulty will be encountered in attempting to recruit white occupants for the new projects. In site selection, then, slum clearance and integration appear to be objectives that cannot be served simultaneously.

There is considerable concern in Newark that the remaining available sites are either in or close to existing concentrations of Negro population. If public housing is to be placed in these areas the community must face up to the fact that, while satisfactory housing will be provided for low-income minority families, the effectuation of integration in the new developments will be enormously difficult.

In view of the conflicting demands that are placed upon the Housing Authority, it would be well for Newark to consider the possibility of establishing a widely representative citizens' advisory committee that would aid in resolving some of the more difficult problems and in reappraising the objectives and possible future attainments of the public housing program.

Chapter VI

The School System

Racial discrimination, housing segregation, and economic status are so closely related that it is possible to have a problem situation in which the three become so tightly intermingled that their effects cannot be separated. This appears to be the situation in the Newark school system today. The situation is a difficult one for all concerned - school administrators, teachers, students, and parents. It is unlikely that it can be solved solely within the framework of the school system itself.

The recent controversy over assignment of pupils to the Clinton Place Junior High School has demonstrated the depth and the intricacy of this problem. The opposition of parents in the well-to-do Weequahic area to an assignment policy which will place a large number of Negro students in the school appears based only in part on race, and probably far more on differences in economic class and on a fear of lowering of school standards by the inclusion of students of lower academic achievement.

Problems of the Central Ward

Newark shares with much of the United States the problem of inadequate school facilities. One respondent states that "the last new school was constructed some twenty-odd years ago, and by-and-large the school plant is run down in most areas of the city." There are both overcrowded classrooms and part-time sessions in several schools

throughout the city. In addition to the shortage of equipment, there is a shortage of teachers. Informants report that many teachers are being drawn off by suburban schools offering newer facilities, more pleasant surroundings, and in many cases, employment closer to home. Although schools in these areas are reported to pay somewhat less than city schools, the differential does not appear to be great enough to deter many teachers from accepting jobs in the suburbs.

The inadequacy of Newark's school facilities is generally recognized. Opinion is not unanimous, however, on another question: to what degree does the extent of the inadequacy vary from one part of the city to another; and in particular, is it greatest in those areas occupied by large numbers of Negroes? Negro sources and some whites as well have charged that the school administration tends to neglect schools in heavily-Negro areas. "It is hard to put your finger on it," states one informant, "but when an area becomes predominantly Negro the community itself begins to deteriorate. The best teachers are not sent there any more, schools are allowed to fall apart, and the discipline is very poor."

School officials counter these charges vigorously, stating that overcrowding and double sessions were present in "good areas" such as Forest Hill and Vailsburg before they reached the Central Ward. "When these problems reached the Central Ward," says one official, "it was called discrimination."

Other officials concede that many of the most experienced teachers do not teach in Central Ward schools and that a number of teachers in these schools are substitutes. This, however, they attribute to the

reluctance of many teachers to accept assignments in schools which are predominantly Negro. "I don't think it's a matter of race, though," states one. "The main deterrent is that these are undesirable neighborhoods."

Another school informant confirms this opinion. "With the shortage of teachers, many applicants are refusing to take positions in Central Ward schools. When teachers are engaged, they are placed where the board feels they belong, but many of them say: 'If you don't put us in good schools, we'll go elsewhere.' It's an understandable attitude, though it is certainly not excusable."

Another person who had, until recently, taught in a Central Ward school spoke of the problem in these terms: "The problem is not that the children are Negroes, but that they are not middle class. These youngsters are much less conforming than the typical middle class white. There are more discipline problems. Their values arise out of the slum culture in which they live. The middle class child has parents to whom such things as reading are important because the parents need to use it in their jobs. The child learns at home that reading is important and sees magazines and books around him. The parents of the slum child often do unskilled work where reading is unimportant.... A teacher who works with these slum children has to be secure herself and shockproof."

Two facts stand out among these statements: (1) there is a shortage of both qualified teachers and school facilities in Newark, and (2) the Central Ward is a recognized problem area. If only because the population of the Central Ward is predominantly Negro, the problem has racial overtones. The Central Ward, however, is also a depressed area

economically, and it seems quite clear that economic class plays at least as strong a role as race in the reactions of both teachers and pupils.

It was not possible within the framework of this survey to determine the relative adequacy of schooling inside and outside the Central Ward, or the degree to which school problems in this area are related to race or to economic status, or to both. These questions appear to have been aired frequently in public, and sometimes with considerable acrimony. It would appear that there is need for a thorough re-examination of Newark's school system as a whole and particularly of the problems faced by teachers with middle class values, as they attempt to work in a lower-class setting.

Pupil Relationships

Informants report few outbreaks of hostility between pupils of different races in the same school. If tensions are present, they rarely result in violence. "I wouldn't say that racial tensions don't exist," reports one person, herself a Negro. "I was told by a white boy that whites who associate too freely with Negroes are not accepted by other whites. It is hard, though, to determine what is racial and what isn't. It is well covered up."

That such problems do not exist in any great number in many schools may be due to the fact that schools which get large enrollments of Negro students promptly lose many of their white pupils, either through moveouts from the area or by requests for transfer to other schools. In the case of one school in a transition neighborhood, a representative of the school estimates that the turnover during the year 1956-57 was close

to 60 percent.

There have, however, been a few instances of hostile action between groups of different races from different schools. Although some persons interpret these as evidence of racial conflict, most informants consider them only as evidence of interschool rivalry. The fact that the gangs were of different racial groups, they say, was due simply to the concentration of different ethnic groups in specific geographic areas of Newark, which leads in turn to concentration in specific schools.

Opportunities for Negro Teachers

Informants report that teaching positions have been open to qualified Negro applicants in Newark for many years. In April, 1956, a series of articles in the Newark Evening News¹ estimated that there were 140 Negroes teaching in Newark public elementary schools and 30 in secondary education. About 12 or 13 of the latter were believed to be high school teachers. According to persons interviewed, there are Negro teachers in nearly all sections of the city; the majority, however, are located in Central Ward schools. School authorities report that they have never had a bit of difficulty with pupils, parents, or other teachers when assigning a Negro teacher to a school in a white area.

A source of dissatisfaction among Negroes, however, has been the fact that there has been no Negro principal appointed since 1864. One Negro spokesman says: "Applicants state that sometimes they pass the oral examination, and sometimes the academic examination, but never

¹ Jackson, Luther P. and Kentera, George. "The Negro in Essex," Newark Evening News, April 23-27, 1956.

both. There are a number of qualified Negro teachers who by all sensible criteria should be appointed as principals.... We do not condone inefficiency in any way. We do not want the School Board to appoint unqualified Negroes because they are Negroes. But it is just fantastic to believe that with the number of Negro teachers in this city, not one is qualified to be even a vice-principal."

Still another respondent states: "No Negro has yet attained a school principalship in Newark, although several possess all the evident qualifications. At least one of these has her doctor's degree in education. These people have repeatedly tried for promotion, and have repeatedly been turned down."

Representatives of the school system assert that this criticism is unjust. According to one administrator: "We would like to see some Negro principals. But I don't believe we should promote Negro teachers just because they are Negroes. It is illegal and immoral. According to regulations, all principals must qualify by competitive examination. Furthermore, each candidate must have a Masters' degree, a State Principal Certification (for special coursework in administration, budgeting, etc.), and he must have served as a vice principal for five years."

Pupil-Teacher Relationships

No respondent reported evidence of hostility by individual curriculum teachers toward pupils of different race. Some, however, expressed dissatisfaction with the work of a few guidance counselors in directing Negro students in areas of endeavor in keeping with their

capacity. One person stated: "I think some of the schools have excellent guidance counselors; others are not very good. Some counselors take a maternal attitude toward Negroes. They want to 'help the poor defenseless people'."

Another respondent, who has talked several times with guidance teachers as part of his job, feels that "guidance teachers are often unequipped with knowledge of what Negroes are doing today in connection with jobs.... I feel very definitely that Negroes come out of school with no plan, no ideal. They are drifting. They face not only the negative factor of the whole history of race relations, but also the lack of a cultural environment, and the lack of a positive example in their parents. One does not aspire to something if he does not know that it exists. You don't reach for the sun if you don't know there's a sun."

Chapter VII

Public Accommodations

Discrimination in public accommodations is regarded by Negroes in Newark today as a very minor and rapidly vanishing problem. All major hotels and restaurants accept Negroes, both individually and in groups. Negro organizations or mixed groups do not hesitate to ask for reservations for banquet space or to send visitors from out of town to any first-class eating or lodging establishment. One Negro informant reports: "Within the past seven or eight years, I do not recall receiving so much as a sidewise look in any of the better places."

Another Negro states, however: "Many restaurants have very few Negro customers. Traditionally, Negroes have gone to four or five of the better restaurants in downtown Newark because they know that they will get a friendly reception there." Still another says: "One center-city restaurant has only a handful of Negro customers, but this may be a hangover from the old days. Certainly this restaurant does not appear to discriminate today." In some of the smaller restaurants on the outskirts of the city, one respondent believes that occasional incidents of discrimination still arise: "There are no flagrant violations, but subtle means of selecting."

Bowling alleys, skating rinks, and swimming pools also accept Negro patrons. However, there is no public swimming pool in the South Ward, an area in which many Negroes now live.

A leading Negro publicist reports: "There are still occasional complaints about public accommodations. However, we believe that many of them are false. We attempt to determine the veracity of a complaint by such criteria as his promptness in following through, and by his answers to questions such as: 'Who did you talk to?', 'Were there any witnesses?', 'What was the time of day?', etc. We very often find that the incident was imaginary. In one case we received a complaint that someone had called a hotel for a reservation and had been told there were no vacancies. We found that the hotel was telling the truth. Hotels in this town get very crowded on weekends, and both Negroes and whites have difficulty getting accommodations if they try to reserve them at the last minute."

The virtual elimination of discrimination in Newark public accommodations is of fairly recent origin. Two Negro informants report that they encountered some difficulty in the early 1950's. Says one, "We have not become accustomed to this situation in Newark even yet. We have run into so many nasty situations in past years that we have difficulty in believing that change has really occurred." She recalls one such situation, which also illustrates the kind of courage required of the Negro who is willing to pioneer in an area where discrimination has been prohibited by law, but still exists in custom. About 15 years ago, shortly after a law had been passed prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations, she and a friend attended a movie in Newark. Up to that time, Negroes had been required to sit in the balcony of the theater. They headed for the main floor, and the usher tried to stop them, saying, "You

can't sit on this floor." After a moment's altercation the usher conceded and they sat where they wished.

Freedom of access to public accommodations is a striking illustration of the advance that has been made in public policy and the general acceptance of that policy. It must be remembered, however, that the contacts between whites and Negroes in these facilities are casual, impersonal, and ephemeral. In fact the common use of a public accommodation as a rule may not even involve an acknowledgement of the presence of a person of another race. The more significant tests are to be found in the areas of community life where personal, family, and group relationships are natural and inevitable. If serious deficiencies exist in these areas, then the community has taken an important, but limited, step from the concept of separate but equal facilities to the fact of simultaneous but not integrated use of the same facility.

Chapter VIII

Local Attitudes and Atmosphere

Newark's public record in establishing and protecting the civil rights of all groups is exceptionally fine even among northern cities. Hotels, restaurants, bowling alleys, and swimming pools are open without question to Negroes and Puerto Ricans, as to other citizens. Barrier after barrier to the employment of minorities in offices, factories, and laboratories has fallen and in response to these enlarged opportunities a substantial Negro middle class has emerged. Newark has built more public housing than most other cities of its size and, as one Negro leader put it, "a more sincere effort has been made to promote and maintain integrated housing than in any other city in the country."

To propositions so general, qualifications are almost inevitable. Although public housing has actively promoted integration, progress has been slower in private accommodations where resistance among the white population to Negro expansion has been reinforced by the higher prices Negroes are generally compelled to pay for property and the greater difficulty they encounter in getting mortgage money. And, while all restaurants are open to Negroes, there are some which most Negroes hesitate to enter. Some discrimination in employment still exists. Upgrading appears harder for a Negro to achieve than for a white. In some instances unions make it difficult, even impossible, for Negroes to become members. The record of the big manufacturing organizations is mixed. Many enterprises hesitate to place Negroes in positions where

their contact with the public is direct as in restaurants, hotels, or airports. But, as the most critical admit or imply, progress has been steady, even rapid, and the outlook for continued improvement is good.

A singular unanimity of public opinion - official and private - favors the extension of civil rights to all. In the words of one early leader in the successful battle, "ten years ago we were fighting for a Mayor's Commission, laws, enforcement, and against race agitation. Now everybody says the right thing." Indeed, the existence of the Mayor's Commission and its commissioning of this report place Newark in that leading minority of American cities whose concern for group relations and civil rights is keen and unremitting.

Yet, this harmony of sentiment conceals an uneasiness about the realities of group goodwill. Conscience may direct and laws may enforce actions which emotions reject. Despite the best intentions, ancient animosities do not disappear quickly, culturally determined hostilities persist, and prejudice does not die. The anxiety which such perceptions evoke is apparent in the statement of a Negro leader that Newark is a tinder box. It is equally clear in the statement by another prominent Negro who voiced a difficulty expressed by many whites as well: a major problem is "human communication between racial groups in neighborhoods. They are like strange buildings walking stiff-legged around each other."

While exaggeration of the extent and danger of these tensions must be avoided, realistic appraisal demands that they be described. It is in fact one of the symptoms of uneasiness that factual description of remaining social problems is sometimes confused with opposition to the social and economic gains of minorities. The most striking tension is between whites and Negroes. As the Negroes have increased in number

while the white population changed relatively little in size, they have moved south from the center of the city and have purchased property in white districts. Little or no violence has accompanied this movement unless, as one official put it, "the most dramatic kind of violence is exodus." Undoubtedly the crux of this difficulty has been housing. The reported tendency even in public housing has been for whites to move when Negro occupancy exceeded some undetermined percentage. Accusations of pushing - made by whites, occasional hostilities between youngsters of the two races, suggest the rather small degree of overt physical action even imputed to mutual dislike and resentment.

Negro expansion is not the only reason why whites have moved to the suburbs. Like residents of other cities, Newark citizens are likely to consider suburban schools better, suburban taxes lower, and suburban addresses higher in social prestige. If whites do not relish the movement of Negroes into their immediate vicinity, they are at least calm. As one professional person concluded, "when Negroes move into white neighborhoods there is a certain amount of social ostracism, but no violence... In most neighborhoods where Negroes are moving people are resigned to it. They figure that if they don't like it, they can always move." Resentments and hostilities are sometimes manifest in exaggerated accounts of minor incidents. A year and a half ago an exchange between Negro and white youths after a high school game was reported as a riot and its significance blown up far beyond its importance. A similar reaction followed an incident that occurred at a local swimming pool. In each of these cases extensive and careful investigations were conducted and the

true cause was found to be interschool rivalry in the first case and youthful exuberance in the second. There were some, however, who attempted to make political capital out of the incidents by incorporating them into a campaign against integration and equal access to swimming pools.

Dissension among Negroes is of some importance. In describing it, one civic leader used unvarnished language: "If the Negro leaders will talk to you, they will tell you they are more resentful of the southern Negroes than the whites are. The southern Negroes are lousing up their deal." Negroes who through painful effort have improved their housing, increased their incomes, and raised their status, understandably resent southern Negroes whose education is inferior, and whose social habits are open to the criticism of whites. All their precarious gains are threatened. Here, of course, Negroes recapitulate the history of other immigrant groups.

Negroes and whites combine in their hostility to Puerto Ricans, the most recent immigrants of all. Symptomatic of an attitude was one white woman's claim that "Puerto Ricans are different from Negroes. They are faster with the knife." Another white person, remarking upon the strong hostility between Negroes and Puerto Ricans, said that "we hear from Negroes (about Puerto Ricans) the same things that whites say about Negroes."

One of the unfavorable consequences of public positions and public utterances which fail accurately to represent the emotional complexities inherent in the affairs of religious, ethnic, economic, and racial groups, is the growth of a body of beliefs much more closely allied to emotion

than to fact. These beliefs flourish the more lushly when the facts are scarce. In Newark, illustrations can be found in disagreements about the size of the Negro population, the opportunities available to them for employment in the school system, and the role of the police force.

The last authoritative enumeration, the 1950 Census, found 75,000 Negroes in Newark. How many are there now? A real estate broker estimated 132,000. A housing official guessed 95,000 - 100,000. A builder thought that the Negro population had doubled. Undoubtedly the number has increased and as surely only another count will ascertain the exact extent of the increase. But there is an interesting inference to be drawn from these and like estimates. The size of the estimate may be related to the emotions and position of the estimator. Those who fear emotionally or economically an increase in Negro numbers may tend to believe that what they fear has already occurred. Those whose emotions or responsibilities are different may generally offer lower guesses.

Do Negroes have equal opportunities in the school system? A not uncommon complaint by Negro leaders is the absence of a Negro principal. Although some years ago there was a Negro principal, none has been appointed since his retirement. Is this fact the result of prejudice? School administrators point to the record of Negro applicants. None has passed both the written and the oral portions of the examination for the position. In rebuttal, Negro critics enumerate the superior qualifications of several Negro teachers and question by implication at least the fairness of the appointing authorities. No judgment can or need be made of the facts. What is significant is the belief of some that the ostensible facts

conceal prejudiced action and the engagement of emotions which places this particular construction upon these particular circumstances.

The third illustration is most striking. Controversy revolves around two questions: Are the police brutal in their treatment of Negroes? Is there one law for Negroes and another for whites? A Negro leader stated that "Newark has one of the most vicious police forces outside of the South." Another cited a "long and livid history" of police brutality. A more temperate third view endorsed the department in general while criticizing a "hard core of brutal people" who are gently treated by their superiors. According to this opinion, "the police shoot down crapshooters and pocket book snatchers. In many cases a Negro has been shot down when he did not even have a weapon - he just ran. Policemen are gun happy." Citing individual instances, these and other Negroes alleged that Negroes had been beaten by police. These are grave accusations. Yet none of the white leaders, including several keen students and supporters of minority rights, thought the police brutal.

Whites and Negroes similarly diverge over law enforcement. Some Negroes claimed that all sorts of minor violations led to Negro but not to white arrests. Driving regulations were more sternly applied to the first than to the second group. Some whites who commented on this issue thought, on the contrary, that the police were exceedingly reluctant to arrest Negroes for minor infractions, partly because Negroes belligerently resisted arrest. Perhaps exaggerating to make his point the more effective, one person listed murder and rape as the only crimes committed by Negroes serious enough to alert the police to intensive

effort. Again what is most interesting is the emotional attitudes which these opinions suggest. If the cases cited were accurately described in every detail, need it follow that the cause was racial prejudice rather than the random sadism of a rare policeman? In the absence of suspicion and resentment, a few cases could not serve as the basis for sweeping generalization about the behavior of the entire police force.

These three illustrations lead to the same conclusions. Where emotions are warm, and facts are few and open to diverse interpretation, these interpretations will serve emotion not reason. Their relation to the truth may be slight. Emotional adjustment has lagged behind the rapid pace of legal innovation and Negro migration. Emotion makes realistic discussion difficult. When each fact is taken as a symptom of the speaker's attitude and sympathies, naturally supporters of civil rights will hesitate to point out areas of failure and problems still awaiting solution.

Signs are not lacking, however, that individual and group attitudes are beginning to change. Though the issue is in doubt, perhaps the most encouraging single instance is the Clinton Hill experiment in integration. When Negroes began to move into this predominantly Jewish area, the initial reaction of the residents was flight. Their panic led to the formation of the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council. The Council enlisted Catholics as well as Jews, and Negroes as well as whites, and has endeavored to halt hasty selling and to promote group amity. The area as a whole is now perhaps 50 percent Negro and 50 percent white. The claim is made, possibly overhopefully, that those whites who intended to move

have done so and those still in the area plan to stay. If in the end the white population diminishes and the Negro population expands, the causes may be less racial prejudice and more the difficulty of maintaining very large houses as single family homes and the lure of the suburbs to those whose incomes have risen. Psychological adjustment to Negro neighbors has proceeded on the whole smoothly.

Even where hostility to Negroes is very strong as in the fashionable Forest Hill area, familiarity conceivably can breed friendship rather than contempt. Some ten Negro families live in the area and while their experiences have varied, on the whole the community has adjusted to them and, in one instance at least, several white buyers followed a Negro into the same block. In poorer areas where whites would leave if their financial circumstances permitted, they have frequently found that Negroes were good neighbors once they grew accustomed to them.

In making these adjustments Newark meets special difficulties. Its proximity to New York robs it of some of the attraction to natural community leaders that it might otherwise exert. When theater, art, and music are all in New York, there is little point in supporting local efforts when the first rate is so handy. Moreover, an exceedingly large portion of Newark's working population returns to the suburbs at afternoon's end, a much greater percentage than in New York City, despite the more sensational reputation of that city. Because so many are already in the suburbs, these suburbs exert an additional pull on those still residing in Newark itself.

In consequence, there is some aura of the temporary about com-

munity activities. So frequently do their leaders move to the suburbs, that continuity of effort is sometimes impaired. There is no phenomenon in Newark akin to New York City's luxury apartments. There is no middle income housing project. As status and incomes rise, whites enter the new promised land of our era, the suburb.

Since its aim is to describe remaining difficulties, this survey has centered on problems rather than achievements. But it would be inaccurate and unfair to conclude without reaffirming Newark's achievements. These include a positive program of integration in public housing in the face of the temptation to turn these projects into all-Negro settlements, active support of nondiscrimination in private employment, a good record of equality of treatment in public employment, and complete access to places of amusement and public facilities. If in fact much remains to be done, it is a tribute to Newark's great public successes that the next field of action is emotion rather than law. Even here, Newark has cause for congratulation. Violence has been trivial and debatable. More affirmatively, there is positive evidence that Negroes and whites are learning to live in harmony and mutual respect in more and more areas of Newark's life.

Chapter IX

A Program for Research

In the course of this review of the status of group relations in the city of Newark, it became evident that there were large gaps in the information necessary to comprehend the dimension, quality and scope of some of the major problems or to provide the basis for the formulation of policy and programs of action by the municipality, its agencies, or by private community groups. Moreover, the lack of information in several areas has given rise to misunderstandings which in themselves have served to generate undercurrents of tensions.

From a large number of possible research projects, eight have been selected for presentation in summary form in this chapter. These were chosen because it was felt that they would serve useful purposes and because the materials lend themselves readily to scientific investigation. The topics are presented in the order in which the previous chapters appear in this manuscript. The sequence in no way represents recommendations of priority. In fact, such an interpretation would not be in consonance with the original purpose of this undertaking. The Commission itself wished to place its own order of priority upon each of the suggested research studies following a determination of those items which it feels are in greatest need of illumination.

In the discussion of each topic presented below, there is an indication of the relevance of the material, the types of data to be collected, and the methods that may be used in assembling the basic information.

It was originally intended to accompany each suggested research subject with an estimated budget, but upon further consideration it was found that a precise cost figure could not be attached to each item without a full and careful preparation of what is tantamount to a research proposal. In each case, however, cognizance has been taken of the resources presently available to the Commission and each topic can be covered to a lesser or greater extent within the current budget. Should the Commission obtain supplementary financing from other sources, it may wish to enlarge upon the item chosen for initial investigation or it may decide to augment its program by undertaking either simultaneously or in sequence two or more pieces of research.

Current Inventory of Population and Households

It is now over seven years since the last census was taken and in view of changes which have taken place since 1950, much of the data are of limited value in describing the population or in guiding public policy. In order to fill this gap, a sample study of households is required to obtain the following categories of information: an estimate of the total population and its composition by age, sex, and race as well as other demographic characteristics; information on occupation, income, and place of employment; characteristics of the stock of dwelling units, including data on occupancy and vacancy, rent or value, and condition of structure; and characteristics of the occupants including such items as family size and composition, number of rooms in dwelling unit, and persons per room.

A sample study of approximately 2,000 to 2,500 households should

be sufficient to yield reliable information on the aggregate population. If detail on sub-areas is desired, as many as 5,000 interviews may be needed. The report on this study should not only include a presentation and analysis of the data, but considerable attention should also be devoted to trends, particularly those changes that have occurred since 1950.

These data will be useful for at least five years to come. Although a national Census will be conducted in 1960, detailed results will not be published until 1962 or 1963. In addition to providing needed information on the minority population, the results will be of value to many principal agencies and private groups who may be willing to contribute to the cost of the survey.

Employment Practices

Job opportunities for Negroes have increased strikingly in recent years as a result of greater training of the Negro labor force, protracted demand for workers in virtually all fields of economic life, and concerted efforts on the part of various groups to open new lines of employment. But despite these advances, much is left to be desired. Although a few industries are still closed to Negroes and others will engage non-whites only in menial or low grade positions, an even more serious problem may be the paucity of Negroes equipped with the skills and training for many jobs which are available on an open basis and for which they are sometimes actively sought.

A study of employment in Newark would have as its objective an investigation of those factors which presently limit the ability of Negroes

to take full advantage of the employment opportunities available to them. Attention should be given to the employment practices and policies followed by the leading establishments in the city and in those sections of the environs in which Newark's Negroes are presently employed, the attempts on the part of specific industries and employment services to recruit Negro workers and their experiences; the role of the labor union in admitting Negro workers to membership, and in defending their rights on the job; the experience of trade and business schools in recruiting and training Negro students; the importance of the "success model" in stimulating Negro youngsters to seek job skills. In addition, the study should include an examination of the experiences of industries in which Negroes and whites have worked together. Are Negro workers segregated by department or is there a free assignment of individuals based upon capacity rather than upon race or color? Have the relationships among the workers on the job been satisfactory? How do rates of productivity, absenteeism, and labor turnover compare between Negroes and whites? To what extent, if at all, are tensions generated when a Negro worker is assigned to a new department or is elevated to a supervisory position?

The data for this study can be drawn from the personnel records of industrial employers, schools, and private agencies; interviews with representatives of these groups and trade unions, discussions with workers on the line, and observation of day-to-day relationships among workers of different race. Although this research study has been couched in terms of industrial employment, the same approach may be extended to other types of economic activity such as wholesaling, retailing,

banking, or insurance. Since the cost of surveying many employment sectors is very large, it may be well to select either one type of industry or one aspect of employment for initial study.

Study of Changing Neighborhoods

The major advance in community integration represented by the purchase of homes by Negroes in previously all-white neighborhoods has not been without its problems and frictions. Despite satisfactory incomes and credit status, Negroes have had considerable difficulty in obtaining adequate mortgage financing, and it is reported that a Negro pays a considerably higher price than a white purchaser for the same property. There is a lack of information regarding the dimension of the shift in population and the subsequent effect on the community. But perhaps most important has been the problem of attracting and keeping white families in these areas.

A study of changing neighborhoods would address itself to a number of subjects: the extent and distribution of the population change since 1950; an investigation of the number of white purchasers who have acquired homes in these areas after they became mixed; the financing terms, prices, and sources of funds available to Negro and to white purchasers; and an investigation of the factors that make for stability or instability in the population composition of the areas.

This study requires a combination of methods including interviews with existing households, particularly those located on mixed blocks, the summarization and analysis of deed and mortgage recordings to determine

the extent of turnover, prices and financing in the area, as well as interviews with real estate brokers, mortgage lenders, community leaders, and other informed persons. The precise cost of this study would depend upon the number of neighborhoods to be investigated and the amount of detail required.

Housing Needs of Minority Groups

There is little doubt that the Negro population of Newark is housed at considerably lower standards than the community at large. To a considerable extent this is due to the lower income distribution that characterizes the Negro population. But many Negro families who are financially able to acquire or rent adequate dwellings, are blocked because of discriminatory practices in the housing market.

A study of the housing needs of minority groups would require data on the size of the Negro population and the number of households. In addition, it is essential to learn the quality of the housing accommodations which Negroes occupy both in terms of structural deficiencies and the extent to which the size of the dwelling unit is coordinated with the family's requirements. These data would provide the basis for an initial estimate of total housing requirements. When taken in conjunction with the income distribution of the occupants, estimates can be derived of the proportion of the Negro population that can be served by the private housing market and those whose needs can only be met by low rent subsidized public units. Of the latter group, a further refinement would determine the proportion eligible for public housing. The former group would provide some measure of housing demand that can be expected to come from the Negro population should barriers to occupancy be removed.

The basic data for this study can only be collected by means of a sample study of minority households. Since this study is concerned with the minority population in aggregate, a maximum of 1,000 interviews would be required. Although the data derived from the field survey will provide the basic information, the major portion of this research should be devoted to an analysis of the market as revealed by the data and by collateral market information secured from a variety of sources.

Integration in the Schools

Since the decision of the Supreme Court in 1954, it has become increasingly evident that an appreciable amount of separation of white and Negro children, in fact, exists in the schools of northern cities. Whereas in the South, the segregation of school children is a matter of pronounced policy, in the North it is a concomitant of the concentration of Negroes in a limited number of residential areas. Since school attendance is organized on a neighborhood basis, it is virtually inevitable that some are attended largely by Negro children whereas others are all white.

The first step in a study of the public schools would be a determination of the proportion of Negro and white children in the various schools in Newark. In the schools that are attended largely by Negro children, further analysis may be undertaken of the quality of the teaching staff, the adequacy of the physical plant, the turnover of the student body, as well as attendance, behavior, and discipline problems. Considerable attention in such a study should be given to the personnel and group needs of the underprivileged child, Negro or white, in order to

determine the extent to which special facilities or remedial care is required.

The sources of data for such a study are varied. They include an analysis of the school records, extensive interviews with teachers, administrative officials, and other educators in the school system. In addition, personal observation of classroom situations and of extra-curricular activities must be undertaken. These sources should be supplemented by depth interviews with a selected group of households in which children of school age are found. In addition to a presentation of facts, the report should attempt to establish the extent to which the needs of both Negro and white children are being met, and the steps that might be taken to achieve and maintain a balanced school population.

Adequacy of Community Resources to Meet Social Needs

A low income and migrant population is usually burdened with many problems including lack of funds to meet the requirements of an adequate standard of living, illness, family difficulties, physical and psychological disabilities. At times, the enormous burden of these problems lead to behavior patterns that are socially pathological. In most situations, however, it results in quiet desperation that could be alleviated by aid and guidance. The complex of individual, group, and community problems militates against the optimum use of basic human resources of the area and considerable attention is required to restore these persons to functioning and productive individuals.

This study would have as its basic objective an appraisal of the welfare needs of the community and an inventory of the resources

that the community has made available to meet the problems. The basic information include examinations of the case loads and client policies and practices, classified according to the functions of various public and private social agencies. The study should also be concerned with the training and experience of the practicing social and psychiatric case workers as well as with the budget and facilities at their command. Special attention should be given to the scope and functions of various organizations that are concerned with the problems of children, particularly those that attempt to guide youngsters in trouble or that work with groups in preventive activities. These data will provide the basis for a comparison between the community needs, and the financial and human resources that the community has allocated to purposes of aid, rehabilitation, and conservation of its human resources. An essential element in this report would be a series of recommendations regarding the deficiencies that were found and the areas in which augmented effort is indicated.

Law Enforcement

The spectrum of opinion regarding the attitude of the police toward infractions of the law by Negroes has indeed been startling. It has ranged from assertions that Negroes are rarely arrested except for the most serious offenses, to reports of constant persecution of Negroes by the police force. Were either of these extreme descriptions true, the state of law enforcement in Newark would indeed be chaotic. Undoubtedly the truth lies somewhere between the extremes and the impressions voiced by respondents reflect the observation of selected incidents which might

have passed with lesser notice were not questions of race involved.

Attempting to appraise the quality of law enforcement falls more within the field of investigation than of social research. It is, of course, impossible to determine the number of instances in which a police officer has known of an infraction of the law and has made no arrest. Unless on the spot observers can present a full report of each occurrence and the race of the alleged violator noted, statistics cannot be presented that distinguish between the treatment of Negroes and of whites in comparable situations. Manifestly, every infraction cannot be observed or reported with such detail. The area of scientific research then rests largely in analyzing the police records; i.e., instances in which positive action has been taken and an account of the arrest exists. These may be analyzed to determine the extent to which infractions of various sorts distribute themselves by race, the nature of the charge, the length of time the violator was held before being brought to trial, and disposition of the case by the courts. Moreover, special attention may be devoted to a detailed and careful collection of evidence of cases in which accusations have been leveled against officers of the law to determine whether resort to force was necessary in order to subdue an obstreperous criminal, or whether there was a display of force not commensurate with the requirements of the arrest (or of the preservation of the peace). The report on this area of research would consist of a combination of statistical analysis and case studies. There is little hope that such a report can be definitive, but if properly undertaken by groups familiar with police practices, it can serve to provide the information necessary for a

dispassionate appraisal of the contradictory opinions that have gained currency in the Newark community.

Puerto Rican Population

Because of the relatively small size of Newark's present Puerto Rican population, virtually no attention has been given to this group in this report. There are indications, however, that the immigration of Puerto Ricans is continuing at a modest but regular rate and that within a relatively short period of time this group will constitute a not inconsequential proportion of the minority peoples in Newark. From all indications, the pattern of Puerto Rican life in Newark is following that observed in other cities, notably New York. In order to avoid or meet some of the problems that have arisen elsewhere, it would be well for the community to acquaint itself with salient facts regarding the Puerto Rican population; its size, social composition, family forms, occupations, sources of employment, income, and housing accommodations. Of equal importance is the determination of the attitudes of the population at large, and of other minority groups towards Puerto Ricans.

The basic data for this study would be obtained from interviews with Puerto Rican households. A survey of the attitudes of the remainder of the community should include representation of both Negro and white households, families that are located at varying distances from Puerto Rican concentrations, as well as groups that have had different degrees of contact with Puerto Ricans on the job, in the school system, and in community activities. Although the report on this study should be devoted

primarily to a presentation of the facts, it should also indicate those areas in which community effort is needed to aid the newcomers in acculturating to continental urban life, and to prevent their exploitation.

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The research projects presented above by no means exhaust the types of studies on group relations that may be undertaken. This list could have included such topics as the extent of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the Negro population with conditions in Newark, the attitudes and images that Negroes and whites hold of each other, or the problems, accomplishments, and prospects of integration in public housing. Instead of proliferating the list of projects, an attempt was made to present a group of studies that would form the basis of a cohesive and integrated program of research. For example, the survey of population and households can be designed to provide data of use in the study of mixed areas, housing needs, employment and schools. The mixed area study is obviously related to problems of school integration, and widening the opportunities of employment will change the spacial distribution of work places and the income distributions which in turn will result in shifts in the location of residences occupied by Negroes. These few illustrations will serve to indicate the cumulative character of the research projects that have been presented. The fact that one study builds upon another not only reduces the cost of research; it also hastens the fulfillment of Newark's quest for truth.

Appendix A.

Statistical Tables

1. Population Trends, Newark, New Jersey, 1900 - 1950
2. Population Growth 1940 to 1950 - Newark Compared with Other U. S. Cities
3. Marital Status of Newark's Population, White and Non-White, 1950
4. Distribution of Non-White Population by Census Tracts, 1950
5. Distribution of Size of Non-White Population by Census Tracts, 1950
6. Total Non-White and Negro Population, Newark and Environs, 1950
7. Industrial Composition, City of Newark, 1955
8. Industrial Composition, Newark Labor Market Area, 1955
9. 1949 Median Incomes of Families and Unrelated Individuals, Newark and Environs
10. Trends in Total Assessed Value of Taxable Property Newark, 1910 - 1955
11. Trend in Manufacturing Employment Newark, 1909 - 1947
12. Employment by Industry, Negro and White Workers
13. Occupations of Negro and White Workers
14. Rent, Income, and Overcrowding of Occupants of Sub-standard Dwelling Units, White and Non-White Families, Newark, 1950

Table 1

Population Trends, Newark, N. J., 1900 to 1950

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Non-white</u>
1900	246,070	239,108	6,962
1910	347,469	337,742	9,382
1920	414,524	397,114	16,995
1930	442,337	402,596	38,926
1940	429,760	383,534	45,984
1950	438,776	363,149	74,965

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1900 to 1950

Table 2
Population Growth 1940 to 1950
Newark Compared With Other U. S. Cities

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>Percent Change</u>
Newark	429,760	438,776	2.1

Other Eastern Cities

Baltimore, Md.	859,100	949,708	10.5
Buffalo, N. Y.	575,901	580,132	0.7
Camden, N. J.	117,536	124,553	5.9
Pittsburgh, Pa.	671,659	676,806	0.8
Providence, R. I.	253,504	248,674	-1.9
Rochester, N. Y.	324,975	332,488	2.3

Cities of Comparable Size in Midwest, West Coast, and South

Atlanta, Ga.	302,288	331,314	9.6
Cincinnati, Ohio	455,610	503,998	10.7
Houston, Tex.	384,514	596,163	55.0
Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	455,622	14.4
New Orleans, La.	494,537	570,445	15.3
Oakland, Calif.	302,163	384,575	27.2
Seattle, Wash.	353,302	467,591	27.1

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950.

Table 3

Marital Status of Newark's Population, 14 Years Old and Over

White and Non-White, 1950

	<u>White</u>		<u>Non-white</u>	
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Single	28.4%	24.4%	26.2%	20.6%
Married (Spouse present)	61.5	58.5	54.3	47.3
Married (Spouse absent)	3.5	3.3	12.2	15.6
Widowed	4.9	12.0	5.9	14.4
Divorced	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.9

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950

Table 4

Distribution of Non-white Population by Census Tracts, 1950

<u>Percent Non-white</u>	<u>Percent of Tracts</u>
0-0.9	33
1-4.9	16
5-9.9	14
10-24.9	13
25-49.9	12
50-74.9	7
75-100	4
	99%(error due to rounding)

Table 5

Distribution of Size of Non-white Population by Census Tracts, 1950

<u>Non-white Population</u>	<u>Percent of Tracts</u>
0-24	25
25-99	16
100-499	22
500-999	10
1,000-up	27
	100%

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950, Compiled from

Data by Census Tracts.

Table 6
Total Non-white and Negro Population of
Newark and Environs, 1950

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-white</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Percent Non-white</u>
Newark	438, 776	75, 465	74, 775	17.2
Essex County	905, 949	105, 283	104, 307	11.6
New Jersey Portion of N. Y. - N. E. N. J. Metropolitan Area	3, 356, 051	195, 595	192, 810	5.8

Source: 1950 Census of Population, Vol. II: Characteristics of
the population. Part 30: New Jersey.

Table 7

Industrial Composition, City of Newark, September, 1955

<u>Major Industry Division</u>	<u>Establishments</u>	<u>Jobs</u>	<u>Percent of Total Jobs</u>
Manufacturing Industries	1,633	87,610	44
Wholesale & Retail Trade	2,465	45,327	'
Transportation	245	10,241	5
Communications & Utilities	4	10,253	5
Small Services & Amusements	1,085	16,854	8
Finance, Ins., Real Estate	555	23,268	12
Construction Contracting	416	5,335	3
Mining, Agric. & Other	<u>4</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	6,407	198,911	100

Table 8

Industrial Composition, Newark Labor Market Area, September, 1955

<u>Major Industry Division</u>	<u>Establishments</u>	<u>Jobs</u>	<u>Percent of Total Jobs</u>
Manufacturing Industries	4,322	333,796	55
Wholesale & Retail Trade	6,920	111,519	19
Transportation	960	32,889	5
Communications, Utilities	62	21,351	4
Small services, Amusements	2,667	44,054	7
Finance, Ins., Real Estate	1,329	33,929	6
Construction Contracting	2,008	24,237	4
Mining, Agric. & Other	<u>77</u>	<u>630</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	18,345	602,505	100

Source: New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry.

Table 9

Comparison of 1949 Median Incomes, Families and Unrelated Individuals

Newark and Its Environs

New Jersey portion of New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Metropolitan Area	\$3,463
Essex County	3,350
Newark	2,961
Bayonne	3,172
Belleville	3,679
Bloomfield	3,875
East Orange	3,641
Elizabeth	3,442
Glen Ridge	5,000
Harrison	3,221
Irvington	3,880
Jersey City	3,180
Kearny	3,641
Montclair	3,514
North Arlington	4,222
Orange	3,661
South Orange	4,404
West Orange	4,286

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950.

Table 10

Trend in Total Assessed Value of Taxable Properties

1910-1955 Newark, N. J.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Net Taxable Property</u>
1910	\$ 344,821,700
1920	485,219,397
1930	886,788,983
1940	777,835,463
1950	718,189,494
1951	682,567,322
1952	694,985,210
1953	700,103,425
1954	705,765,931
1955	718,280,549

Source: City of Newark, Assessor's Office.

Table 11
Trend in Manufacturing Employment, 1909-1947
Newark, N. J.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. Establishments</u>	<u>No. Production Workers</u>
1909	1,858	59,955
1919	2,155	86,707
1929	1,731	66,647
1939	1,517	56,597
1947	1,874	73,605

Source: U. S. Census of Manufactures.

Table 12

Percent Distribution of Employment by Industry

For Negro and White Workers

New Jersey Portion of New York-Northeastern New Jersey

Standard Metropolitan Area - 1950

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Agriculture, forestry, fisheries	1.2	1.2	0.3	0.2
Mining	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.0
Construction	7.7	10.1	0.6	0.3
Manufacturing	40.3	37.2	40.6	26.2
Transportation, Communications and other Public Utilities	10.5	11.1	5.4	1.1
Wholesale & Retail Trade	18.6	16.2	17.3	5.8
Finance, Ins., Real Estate	4.9	1.6	8.6	0.7
Business & Repair Service	3.2	3.8	1.4	0.4
Entertainment, Recreation Service	0.9	0.9	6.4	55.5
Personal Services	2.4	8.5	0.6	0.2
Professional & Related Services	4.9	3.9	14.6	7.1
Public Administration	4.2	3.6	2.1	1.5
Industry not reported	1.1	0.8	1.6	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950

Table 13

Percent Distribution of Occupations of Negro and White Workers

New Jersey Portion of New York-Northeastern New Jersey

Standard Metropolitan Area - 1950

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>
Professional, technical & kindred workers	11.1	2.3	11.6	2.9
Farmers & farm managers	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
Managers, officials, proprietors exc. farm	14.1	2.8	3.9	1.0
Clerical & kindred workers	9.1	4.5	35.0	4.2
Sales Workers	7.2	1.5	6.8	1.2
Craftsmen, foremen, kindred workers	22.0	11.3	1.9	1.3
Operatives & kindred workers	22.2	32.6	28.6	33.8
Private household workers	0.1	1.8	2.8	43.0
Service workers exc. private household	6.3	13.0	6.7	9.4
Farm laborers & foremen	0.5	0.7	0.1	0.2
Laborers exc. farm & mine	6.2	27.6	0.6	1.6
Occupation not reported	<u>0.8</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>1.4</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1950.

Table 14

Rent, Income, and Incidence of Overcrowding of Occupants
of Substandard Dwelling Units, by Total,
White and Non-white Families, Newark, N. J., 1950

<u>Occupants</u>	<u>Percent of Households</u>	<u>Percent of Households with more than 1.5 Persons per Room</u>	<u>Median Income of Primary Family</u>	<u>Median Rent</u>	<u>Median Rent-Income Ratio</u>
Total	100.0	14.1	\$2,578	\$36	17.4
White	62.6	10.2	2,773	36	15.9
Non-white	37.4	23.1	2,124	37	20.4

Source: U. S. Census of Housing, 1950. Special Tabulations for
Local Housing Authorities, Newark, N. J. Series HC-6,
No. 100.

Appendix B

A Method of Estimating the Size of the Negro Population

Newark, New Jersey, 1956

It is an established demographic observation that the year-to-year variations in the birth rate of a population are usually small and tend to move in the same direction for long periods of time. This regularity provides a basis for estimating the size of a population if the number of births and the birth rate are known. In the absence of data on the current birth rate, an approximation of its size may be derived by making assumptions regarding the changes that may have occurred in the known birth rate of recent years. A more refined calculation can be made if data on births are available by age of mothers through the use of age-specific birth rates of women of childbearing age. Demographers have found, however, that the use of aggregate data yields a satisfactory estimate of total population. While there are several other methods of calculating the size of a population, the one described here was dictated by the basic data that were available.

Employed in the calculations presented below are birth rates for 1940 and 1950 calculated by relating the number of births as reported by the Newark Department of Health and Welfare to the total Negro population of Newark as reported by the U. S. Census, and the count of the number of Negro births in 1956. Three separate calculations have been made, representing high, medium, and low estimates, based upon

different assumptions regarding the current birth rate. The basic estimating equation is:

$$\text{Estimated Population} = \frac{\text{Number of Births}}{\text{Birth Rate per M}} \times 1,000$$

I High Estimate: Assume that the Negro birth rate in 1956 was the same as in 1950 (30.9).

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Population} &= \frac{4,021}{30.9} \times 1,000 \\ &= 130,000 \end{aligned}$$

II Medium Estimate: Assume that the Negro birth rate increased from 1950 to 1956 at the same average rate of increase as between 1940 and 1950.

$$\begin{aligned} 1956 \text{ Estimated Birth Rate} &= 1950 \text{ Rate} + .6 (1950 \text{ Rate} - 1940 \text{ Rate}) \\ &= 30.9 + .6 (30.9 - 26.1) \\ &= 33.8 \\ \text{Population} &= \frac{4,021}{33.8} \times 1,000 \\ &= 119,000 \end{aligned}$$

III Low Estimate: Assume that the Negro birth rate increased from 1950 to 1956 at double the average rate of increase from 1940 to 1950.

$$\begin{aligned} 1956 \text{ Estimated Birth Rate} &= 1950 \text{ Rate} + .6 (1950 \text{ Rate} - 1940 \text{ Rate}) (2) \\ &= 36.8 \\ \text{Population} &= \frac{4,021}{36.8} \times 1,000 \\ &= 109,000 \end{aligned}$$

Rounding these results to the nearest 10,000 yields a median population estimate of 120,000 with lower and upper limits of 110,000 and 130,000 respectively.

Note that this calculation contains some degree of automatic correction for the fact that Newark is a hospital center, and that a certain number of Negro women who do not reside in Newark will come into the city to have their babies. The birth statistic for 1950 is total number of Negro births recorded in Newark, whether to residents or to non-residents. The population statistic for 1950, on the other hand, is number of Negro residents of Newark, according to the 1950 Census. It is assumed that the number of non-Newark Negroes coming to Newark to have their babies bears the same ratio to the Newark Negro population in 1956 as it did in 1950. Local estimates of movement of Negroes to the suburbs, which are almost invariably small, do not give serious reason to question this assumption.

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